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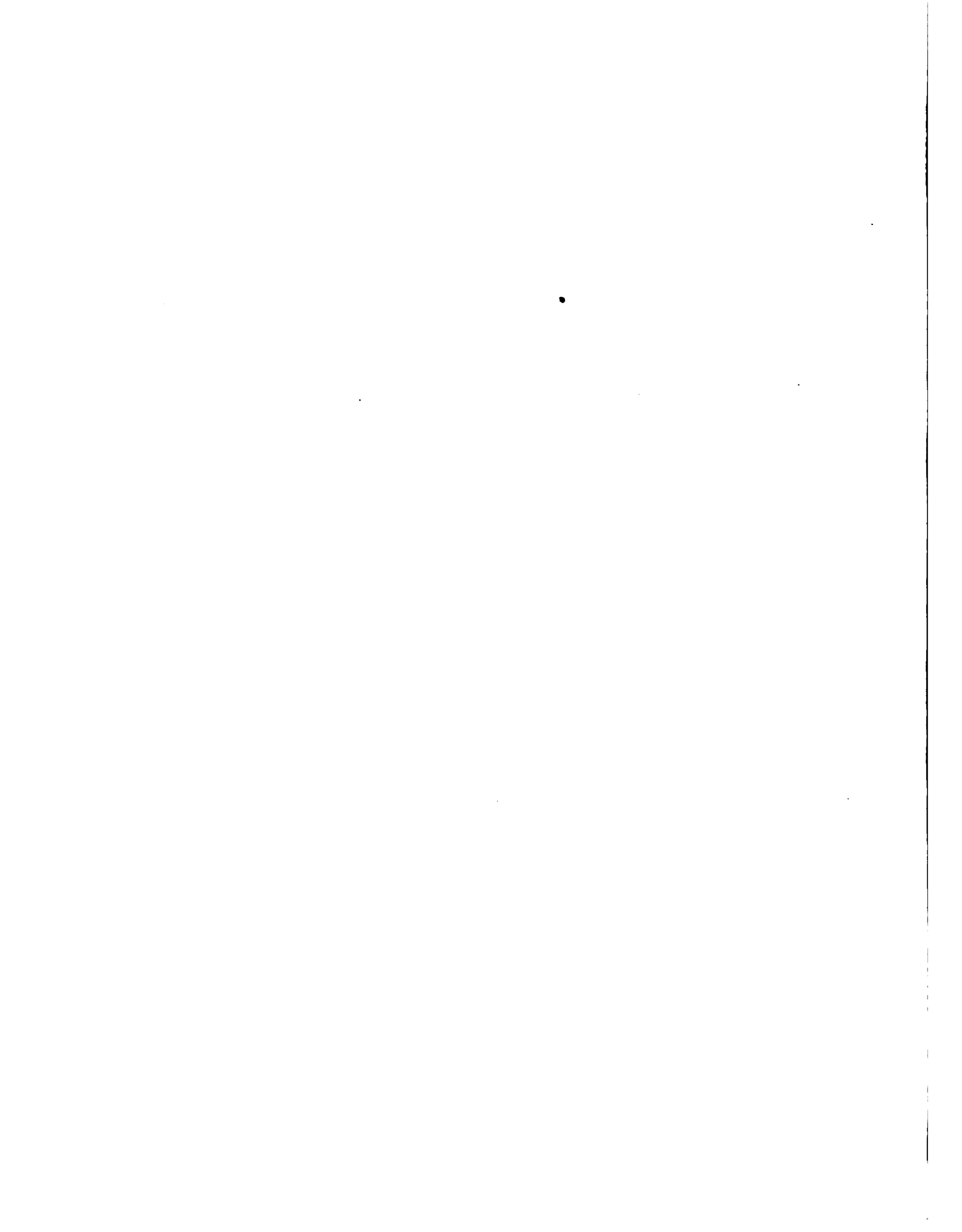
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A

V I E W

OF

THE NATURAL, POLITICAL,
AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

OF

IRELAND.

NOY WEN
GLEN
YASSEL

Strahan and Prefton,
Printers-Street, London.

A
VIEW
OF
THE NATURAL, POLITICAL,
AND COMMERCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES
OF
IRELAND.

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By THOMAS NEWENHAM, Esq.
AUTHOR OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE PROGRESS AND MAGNITUDE
OF THE POPULATION OF IRELAND, &c.

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Circumstances
National - Political

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Supplies for the week of 18th & 19th Dec 1847
The total employed amounting to 200,000 lbs
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add Six Mills in the currency
Amounts at least 100,000 lbs in the
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PREFACE.

UNDER a well established government, exempt from popular controul, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the various circumstances of a country, on the part of those who exercise the principal functions of the state, does not appear to be indispensably necessary, when the obedience of the people is the sole, or paramount object of concern. To insure that obedience, a due proficiency in the art of government is the chief, or, perhaps, the only requisite. To promote the prosperity of a nation, a much more diversified knowledge, than that of the mere statesman, must unquestionably be attained.

Except in a country, where the nature of the system of civil polity authorises public discussions of the conduct of individuals in power; where popular dissatisfaction may be expressed with impunity; where the language of censure may safely be employed; where a spirit of resistance to oppressive or arbitrary measures may easily be generated or roused; and where, consequently, there exists a necessity of observing a considerable degree of deference to the prevailing sentiments of the governed, a comparatively limited and imperfect knowledge, of the circumstances of a country, will generally suffice for the prosecution of the business of government: human ingenuity seldom failing to dissipate emergent embarrassments; and the habitual craft of statesmen usually providing the means of reconciling the nation at large to almost any measure, or system, whether the result of policy, or passion.

But to govern a country merely with a view to the obedience, or practical acquiescence of the subject, undeniably betrays a total want of that

laudable ambition, which ought to actuate those who aspire to govern; and a complete dereliction of that duty, which those who require the political submission of others, cannot, without a demonstrable violation of the recognized principles of right, decline to perform. That ambition and that duty do evidently concur in demanding a sedulous pursuit of measures, conducive to the internal felicity, the vigour and prosperity of a country: and such measures do obviously require a thorough previous knowledge of all its various circumstances.

Among those who are entrusted with the chief management of public affairs, in an independent country, it is to be presumed, that a due knowledge of the circumstances of that country is rarely wanting; however incongruous with that knowledge their measures may frequently be. But this attainment alone, superadded to professional competency, is not, in all cases, sufficient to enable the statesman to pursue that course which his appropriate duty and ambition prescribe. When other countries are dependant on, or connected with that in which his sphere of action lies; but especially when an empire has been formed by the union of two distinct kingdoms, and, with reference to real value, to the various means of national strength, that kingdom which has relinquished the power of legislation approximate that in which the supreme authority resides, a comprehensive and accurate knowledge of the circumstances of the former becomes, manifestly, as necessary an acquisition, towards promoting the prosperity of the empire, as a similar knowledge of those of the latter: the prosperity of an empire, thus constituted, being evidently proportionate to the conjunct prosperity of its constituent parts; not to that of either alone. Without such knowledge, measures reciprocally beneficial to both parts, and thus specifically eligible, will seldom be devised; while others may possibly be adopted, pregnant with much immediate benefit to the principal part of the empire; but perhaps so detrimental to the inferior one, as to occasion, ultimately, a diminution of imperial prosperity, which no partial benefit, of whatever magnitude, may, upon the whole, sufficiently counterbalance. But as those who aim at the chief management of public affairs, are probably, for the

most part, impressed with a persuasion, that a thorough knowledge of the circumstances of the principal part of the empire is an essential and primary qualification whereon to ground their pretensions; while an equal knowledge of those of the other constituent parts thereof is likely to be regarded as a secondary or supervenient acquisition, there seems sufficient room for suspecting, that statesmen, at least on their entrance into office, are far from being so generally in possession of the latter, as of the former. And though their means of information may be subsequently enlarged, yet the original impression, just noticed, will probably, in most instances, divert them from employing these means, to the utmost, in digesting and prosecuting a system of salutary measures in behalf of the inferiour part of the empire, unless its actual or approaching condition render it an object of extraordinary concern.

In addition to the incidental opinions of eminent men, in different ages, contributing to create high ideas of the real value of Ireland, arising from its transcendant physical advantages, a competent number of hitherto unnoticed facts, and authentic public documents may be employed to show, that the actual and potential value thereof, as a constituent member of the British Empire, are sufficient to excite as great a degree of solicitude for its prosperity, among those who preside over public affairs, as seems to be habitually experienced for that of Great Britain herself; and a much greater degree than ordinarily prevails in behalf of the prosperity of other parts of the British dominions.

The eastern possessions of Great Britain are confessedly valuable, in a high degree; so also are her possessions in the western parts of the world. But, considered as sources of imperial strength, they are, indisputably, upon the whole, inferiour to Ireland. The supplies, drawn from the former, may appear, to certain descriptions in the British community, far more desirable than those which are drawn from the latter. But if the view be disinterestedly extended to the whole aggregate of the real means of imperial energy, it will, doubtless, be acknowledged, that the supplies of the east, and those of the west, industriously augmented to the utmost, must ever fall infinitely

short of those which Ireland, if wisely and solicitously governed, might become capable of yielding. The prosperity of her eastern settlements, and of her western colonies may decline; yet Great Britain may thrive. These distant dependencies may even cease to be parts of the British dominions; yet Great Britain and Ireland, firmly united, sagaciously and impartially governed, with all their various sources of wealth and strength fully disclosed, and skillfully improved, may still constitute a flourishing and unvanquishable empire. But if the prosperity of Ireland be suffered to decline, Great Britain, whatever others may think, will hardly find an adequate compensation for the effects of that declension on her own prosperity. If the real value of the former be not practically evinced, the British Empire, as a belligerent power, will ever appear in a paralysed condition, to all who can discern, and justly estimate its native means of strength. And if ever Ireland, unfortunately, cease to be an integral part of that empire, Great Britain will probably soon cease to be an independent nation: or, at least, to use the words employed by Davenant, on the same subject, a hundred years ago, and when the state of Europe was much more favourable to the individual existence of England, as an independent nation, than it now is, "the sum of affairs will be in danger."

The prosperity of a country which annually purchases manufactures from Great Britain, and rude produce from her colonies, to the amount of eight millions sterling; and which may acquire the means of purchasing infinitely more—of a country which now begins to supply Great Britain annually with near one million barrels of grain; and with other necessary provisions to the amount of upwards of three millions sterling; and which certainly might, with vast advantage to both countries, be rendered competent to supply as much as Great Britain could require—of a country from whence the seamen of the empire are chiefly fed—of a country whereof the trade now annually employs 1,200,000 tons of British shipping, yielding to their owners near two millions sterling; and which might give employment to a vast additional number—of a country from whence two millions of money, at least, are annually drawn by absentees residing in
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in England; and whereof the expenditure conduces to swell the public revenue of the latter, and to give extraordinary encouragement to the industrious therein — of a country which adds near six millions to the revenue of the empire; and which, unquestionably, might be made to add, at, no distant period, as much more — of a country actually encumbered with a public debt, amounting to upwards of seventy millions; and for the greater part of which Great Britain is responsible — of a country which must, yearly, remit two millions, in the shape of interest, &c. to public creditors in Great Britain; and which probably may be obliged to remit at least one-fourth more — finally, the prosperity of a country which furnishes at least 100,000 hardy and intrepid foldiers and seamen, for the defence of the empire; and which, with a rapidly increasing population, might fairly be expected to furnish, if requisite, many, many thousands more*, ought surely to excite a much greater degree of solicitude, on the part of the ministers of the crown, than the prosperity of any, or perhaps of all the foreign appendages of Great Britain: nay, as great a degree of solicitude as the prosperity of Great Britain herself can be deemed to demand.

That every addition to the wealth of Ireland must, eventually, operate in augmenting that of England, is a truth which has long been received as indisputable among intelligent men; and which a multitude of substantial facts conduce to place beyond the sphere of controversy. The different manufacturers, the merchants and the ship-owners of the latter have already had ample practical proofs of it. To promote, therefore, the prosperity of Ireland, is, in effect, the same thing as to promote that of England. In truth it might safely be affirmed, that, under existing circumstances, a spirit of industry and enterprise ought to be much more munificently encouraged in the former than in the latter. In Ireland that spirit is still in its infancy: in England it has acquired sufficient strength. Every natural advantage of England has been rendered productive: many of the natural advantages

* The reader is referred to the tables in the Appendix, for a confirmation of the truth of several of the foregoing assertions.

Ireland, continue to exhibit a tissue of neglect, partiality, and error, the union will surely be regarded, by all reflecting and unbiassed men, as a vain, illusive, nugatory, and even mischievous measure: nay, it is not unlikely that a disposition to manifest their dissatisfaction, during some future interval of perplexity, remissness or debility on the part of government, may at length become general among the people of Ireland. But neglect of Ireland, partiality to Great Britain, or its dependencies, and a series of errors, some perhaps of a fatal nature, must constantly be apprehended, so long as an imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the former, or an indistinct perception of its real value, shall prevail among those who conduct the affairs of the empire, or those of whom its Legislature is composed.

To suspect a deficiency of due knowledge, with regard to the circumstances of Ireland, on the part of the principal ministers of the executive power, may appear extremely presumptuous in an individual who has few opportunities of ascertaining the extent of their information. Such a suspicion, however, seems not altogether unwarrantable. A knowledge of these circumstances, is probably not one of those attainments to which His Majesty's ministers are indebted for their elevation. With the exception of parliamentary documents, which are generally confined to financial and commercial subjects, and, moreover, unsatisfactorily limited, the different quarters to which the public may resort, for a knowledge of the circumstances of Ireland, furnish, individually, but little of an authentic and diversified nature. And the additional means of information which the ministers of the crown may enjoy, namely, the occasional communications of intelligent Irishmen in the service thereof, are certainly not always to be relied on for comprehensiveness or fidelity. His Majesty's ministers, it is strongly to be suspected, have, on several occasions, been misled, with regard to the affairs of Ireland, by Irishmen, in public stations, personally interested in the practice of misrepresentation. And some reason appears to have been recently afforded, for a persuasion, that, in consequence, probably, of a pre-existing comparative indifference in respect of the welfare, of
Ireland,

Ireland, originating, on the part of ministers, in unfuitable notions of its real value and importance, the suggestions of official persons, thoroughly conversant in the statistical circumstances thereof, fail to influence the decisions of the cabinet, when measures involving the interests of the Irish people are the subjects of deliberation. The late laudible opposition of the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, to the extension to Ireland of the prohibition to distil from grain, gives strength to an opinion, that either his colleagues are much less acquainted with the local peculiarities of Ireland than he is; or less solicitous in behalf of its prosperity.

But whatever be the case with the principal servants of the crown, it is certain that a very scanty, vague, and superficial knowledge of the circumstances of Ireland, and opinions the most erroneous, respecting some of them, are actually prevalent both among the British members of the Imperial Parliament, and among intelligent and otherwise well informed individuals unconcerned in the business of legislation: and the fact affords matter of considerable regret; inasmuch as, under a constitution like ours, the advancement of the welfare of Ireland, evidently affecting that of the empire, might almost as reasonably be ultimately expected from a diffusion of a correct knowledge of these circumstances, among the members of the Legislature, and among men of talents and capital, in private life, as among the ministers of the executive power.

Indeed this general want of accurate and genuine information, respecting the circumstances of Ireland, among the people of Britain, is not much to be wondered at. When ample and satisfactory information, on any particular subject, cannot be acquired without laborious researches, the pursuit thereof will naturally be relinquished by all, but those whom powerful motives stimulate to persevere. Unless such motives operate, unless there be some strong inducement to exertion, men will, in general, content themselves with casual additions to their knowledge, or such information as they may happen to obtain while in quest of amusement. But motives sufficiently forcible to impel individuals to prosecute the laborious task of collecting a varied mass of authentic information, respecting Ireland, do not, at present, appear to influence any class or description of persons in the British commu-

community. Ireland has not, as yet, become a principle theatre for the exertions of enterprising Britons ; nor does a perfect knowledge of its circumstances appear to be requisite either to celebrity or advancement in the political world. And there is no single work extant, qualified to convey the diversified information in question to those who, with a view to amusement, might be disposed to devote a few leisure hours to the attainment of it : nor indeed are the different works and documents, from which alone it can be extracted, within the reach, generally speaking, of those few who might be urged, by some effective consideration, to undertake the troublesome research.

To the writings of travellers, those who seek a knowledge of the circumstances of a country, through the medium of amusement, usually resort : and from these writings, much valuable information has undoubtedly been derived. Mr. Young's account of his tour through Ireland, in the years 1776-7-8, certainly contains a very considerable body of real information ; and may be consulted with advantage. But Ireland has, in some respects, undergone a great change since Mr. Young wrote. Besides his chief researches being professedly directed to the geonic circumstances, or rural economy of Ireland, his account cannot fairly be expected, nor will it be found to yield the requisitely extensive information ; though considerably illustrative of several interesting subjects. It must, moreover, be observed, that the work in question is comparatively destitute of those attractions, which are not wanting to some others of infinitely inferior merit ; and is therefore by no means so likely to be generally perused.

As for the accounts of those British tourists, who hie through *the land of potatoes*, with a degree of celerity extremely commendable in a King's messenger or a Bow-street officer, but somewhat unfavourable to the acquisition of circumstantial and accurate information, the writer trusts he will escape being accused of an unbecoming wish to detract from their respective merits, when he insists on this solitary fact, that however they may amuse one reader, by anecdotes, bon mots, or repartees, collected, it matters not when, or by whom, among a lively, jocular, and ready witted people ; or however they may interest another reader, by elaborate descriptions

tions of the lake and river scenery of Ireland, and its mouldering monuments of former times, they are, not only almost utterly barren of every species of authentic information, calculated to engage the attention of the statesman, the moralist, the political economist, or the merchant; but have, in some instances, a manifest tendency to create the most unsuitable notions of the value of Ireland. Thus when lack-leisure tourists, perhaps sufficiently qualified to penetrate, discriminate, and appreciate justly, hastening to view the various beauties of the lake of Killarney, the river and harbour of Cork, the rivers Blackwater, Nore, and Boyne, the Dargel, the bay of Dublin, the ruins of Kilmallock, Cashel, and Adair, and that extraordinary natural curiosity, the Giant's-causeway, confine their accounts of the interjacent country to observing, that ill-fenced pastures overgrown with weeds, gloomy bogs, fields of corn, potatoes and flax, exhibiting, for the most part, striking evidences of wretched culture, distant mountains, rocks, innumerable mud-wall cabins swarming with children and swine, and interspersed with miserable whiskey shops, alternately weary the traveller's eye, their readers certainly cannot find much ground for considering Ireland as a most valuable part of the British empire. The case however would probably be somewhat otherwise, if, instead of briefly enumerating these uninteresting objects, the tourists were prepared to enlarge on them, even so far as to say, that the weedy pastures of Ireland, generally speaking, surpass, in point of natural fertility, the richest in England, yielding, annually, a surplus produce for exportation, worth considerably more than two millions sterling: that the bogs are convertible, for the most part, into meadows of unrivalled luxuriance, merely by draining, and the superinduction of those incomparable natural manures which are generally found beneath them: that the corn-fields of Ireland annually furnish a surplus produce little short of one million of barrels, for the market of Great Britain, from whence Ireland, with one half the people it now contains, was formerly supplied with corn: that the general use of potatoes has eminently contributed to augment the rental of the country, which cannot, at this day, be truly estimated at less than fifteen millions: that the flax raised in Ireland, when prepared for the hackle, is annually

worth much more than two millions sterling* : that the mountainous districts abound in various minerals : that the rocks which, in some parts of Ireland, give so rugged an aspect to the country, consist chiefly of excellent limestone ; and contain a vast variety of the most beautiful marbles : that the mud-wall cabins of Ireland are far from being uniformly the abodes of poverty : that the population of the country is in many districts surprisngly dense ; and has increased with much greater rapidity than that of any other country in Europe : that the exported surplus of pork, bacon, lard, and swine annually exceeds in value one million sterling : and that the revenue actually arising from the spirits distilled in Ireland, and amounting to upwards of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, is greater than the whole revenue of many a sovereign prince ; and equals the joint produce of all the branches of the Irish revenue five-and-twenty years ago. And if, in addition to the foregoing facts, these tour-writers, instead of tritely expatiating on the romantic scenery of the Irish lakes and rivers, and the grand spectacle which the bay of Dublin presents, were prepared to speak of the advantages which Ireland possesses in respect of internal navigation, and of the numerous harbours with which its coast is indented, they would, at least, conduce to furnish intelligent men with materials for making a just estimate thereof ; and be instrumental in diffusing more precise and juster notions of its real value than those which seem current in Britain. But it has unfortunately happened that, with the exception of Mr. Young, those who have written accounts of their tours through Ireland, have travelled merely with a view to pleasure, business or health ; and have neither had sufficient leisure, nor inclination to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the country. So inconsiderable, indeed, are the pains which they appear

* According to the report of Mr. Duffin, inspector-general of the linen manufacture, the flax-seed sown, in the year 1806, was adequate to the production of as much flax as would be worth 2,404,612l. 10s. when prepared for the hackle. By referring to the Appendix, and to the different documents introduced into the following pages, the reader will find the preceding and succeeding remarks fully substantiated.

to have taken to collect useful information, that one might almost be tempted to suspect them of having had no other object in view, in publishing accounts of their tours, than that of reimbursing themselves for the expenses of travelling; well aware that works, which promise amusement to the idle and superficial, will be purchased with avidity, while those which aim at instruction alone may remain unſold.

An instance of the unobſerving and unprofitable manner in which tours through Ireland are uſually made, lately fell within the personal knowledge of the writer. In company with a few pleaſant friends, he made an excursion, laſt ſummer; to the weſtern part of the county of Cork, and through a very conſiderable diſtrict which Mr. Young does not appear to have viſited. The object of his companions was pleaſure. And luckily the grandeur of the bay of Bantry, the romantic ſcenery of the harbour of Glangaruff, and the polite and affectionate reception which we experienced from our amiable and worthy friends, Lords Carberry and Bantry, afforded them as much as they could reaſonably have expected. As for the country through which we paſſed, it appears to have had the oppoſite effect. Its aſpect was, in their opinions, wild, dreary, and uninterſting; and they ſeemed to think that there were no other words, by which, with equal propriety, it could be briefly deſcribed. The country was certainly, for the moſt part, deſtitute of trees, and comparatively ſo of gentlemen's country ſeats. Nay, it might fairly be pronounced deficient in all thoſe objects, which conſtitute the rural beauties of England. But how far the writer's friends were warranted in conſidering it as dreary, wild, and uninterſting, in employing epithets calculated to convey the idea of a barren, deſolate country, the reader will be ſufficiently enabled to judge from the following facts. Above three-fourths of the road we travelled lay through a diſtrict exhibiting a much more denſe rural population, than almoſt any diſtrict of ſimilar extent in England. The common people were better houſed and better clad than is generally the caſe in the provinces of Munſter or Connaught. They were every where induſtriouſly engaged in tillage, and in the manufacture of a coarſe kind of linen cloth, called vitry, for the London market. Unendowed ſchools, crowded with children, were found in every pariſh. The lower
claſs

class of people, for the most part, spoke the English as fluently as the Irish language. The towns were thriving and enlarging. And there certainly were not five acres in five hundred uncultivated*.

Thus much for the information which mere tourists afford.

In some of the modern books of geography, several of the circumstances of Ireland are not unfaithfully represented. But these representations are too much epitomized; too limited; blended with incorrect representations of the present, and vague ones of the former condition of the country; and do not appear sufficiently substantiated.

From the reports of the debates in Parliament, very little information, of the nature in question, has as yet been, or seems likely to be, obtained. The British members, conscious perhaps of possessing no other than an extremely defective and uncertain knowledge of the various circumstances of Ireland, seem to avoid, rather than provoke discussions of Irish affairs. And it is certain, that, however great the abilities, and extensive the information of several of the Irish members, their speeches have hitherto failed to diffuse that diversified knowledge which might reasonably have been expected from them. In truth, it would not be impossible to glean, from among them, several misstatements, resulting either from intention, or a circumscribed knowledge of facts; and tending to confirm some of the false opinions prevalent in Britain. The discussion of the late expedient, for relieving the West India planters, presented a most favourable opportunity for developing some of the least known, but not the least important, of the interior circumstances of Ireland. Yet three Irish members, only, appear to have partaken in the debate, Mr. Foster, Mr. Ponsonby, and Sir John Newport. And though these gentlemen are universally and truly allowed to possess great abilities, and very extensive information, in different lines, their printed speeches, certainly contributed but very little, if at all, to enlarge the knowledge of the British public with regard to Ireland. In truth, parliamentary discussions rarely afford opportunities for illustrating any

* The reader will find a statistical account of a considerable part of this district, in No. XXII. in the Appendix.

other than the actual political and financial circumstances thereof. To other sources, therefore, recourse must be had, for that comprehensive information, of which the writer, in common with many of his countrymen, is desirous to find authoritative and intelligent individuals, in Great Britain, possessed.

From the writings of Smith, Beaufort, Boate, Rutty, Hamilton and others of the same class, and also from the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, much information may be obtained, respecting many of the natural circumstances of Ireland. But notwithstanding the acknowledged merit of these writers, especially Smith and Beaufort, the inquirer, after perusing them all, will still have much to learn. With regard to several of these circumstances, the agricultural condition of different parts of Ireland, and various other matters of an interesting nature, a vast supply of genuine and valuable information may be drawn from Mr. Young's account of his tour; and from the seventeen statistical surveys of counties, lately published, under the auspices of the Dublin society. But as thirty years have elapsed since Mr. Young wrote, and as these surveys are far from being equally satisfactory, and not yet sufficiently numerous, the curious inquirer, even with regard to their appropriate subjects alone, must extend his researches still further.

To gain precise and unsophisticated information, in respect of the more prominent events which distinguish the Irish annals, a clear insight into their remote and latent causes, and a distinct view of all their contemporary circumstances and natural results, will be found to require much patient investigation. The historical accounts of Ireland have, for the most part, been written under strong inveterate prejudices and biases, perpetually operating, in some shape or other, to the preclusion of truth; and cannot, therefore, generally speaking, be, with safety, individually relied on. From the writings of Davies, Strafforde, Clanrickard, Warner, M'Geoghegan, Cox, Currie, Harris, Leland, Bourke, O'Halloran, Petty, Temple, Clarendon, Boulter, Swift, and Molyneux, a sufficiently copious mass of correct information to a modern period, may be obtained. But several of these writings must be diligently collated, and employed to throw light
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on each other. The acts and journals of the Irish Parliament, must also be examined. After all, the inquirer will risk the adoption of wrong opinions, concerning the origins, views and principles of Irish parties, and the concurrent causes of late political events, unless he has either been personally conversant in the more recent affairs of Ireland ; and accustomed to scrutinize public measures, and the conduct of public men, with an unprejudiced mind ; or will engage in the irksome task of reading the numerous contradictory representations which have issued from the Irish press, within the last thirty years.

On that important subject, the trade of Ireland, very little has, as yet, been written. Lord Sheffield's " Observations," published in the early part of the year 1785, are the result of much labour ; and convey considerable information. But a very important period of Irish commerce has intervened between the year 1785, and the present. And an historical account of the trade and manufactures of Ireland is still wanting. The inquirer, therefore, if solicitous to be thoroughly informed on these heads, must have recourse to the successive ledgers of the Irish Custom-house ; to the various documents presented to the Irish Parliament ; and to the British, as well as to the Irish statutes.

Without the researches here suggested, it is actually impossible to attain a perfect knowledge of the natural, political and commercial circumstances of Ireland ; but of those individuals whose talents or situations might enable them to employ the information, thus obtained, for the benefit of Ireland, and that of the empire, it is to be suspected, that very few are influenced by motives sufficiently cogent to urge them to undergo the labour of collecting it ; and that still fewer enjoy the means of concentrating, within the sphere of their examination, all the different sources from whence alone that information can be drawn.

With regard to several of the characteristic qualities, moral principles and habits of the Irish people, those of Great Britain are by no means so well informed as might naturally be expected. The notions of the Irish character, which have been drawn from the conduct and manners of those motley adventurers, whom the wealth and luxury of England have hitherto
allured

allured across the channel,—from plays,—from novels,—or from delineations presumptuously sketched by hasty, splenetic, or fastidious tourists, are in several respects incorrect, in some offensively illiberal, in others utterly false; and upon the whole, as unfair and unsuitable as the notions of an Irishman, with regard to the English character, would be, if drawn from observations on the manners, knowledge of the world, intellectual qualities, literary attainments and elocution of English country-squires, cockneys, carters or colliers.

A native of Germany, of Spain, or of any of those countries to which Irishmen were formerly constrained to transfer their valuable services, but to which, it is hoped, they may never be driven to do so again, by a virtual shutting of that door to promotion, which their Parliament threw open, would find no small hesitation in subscribing to that character of the Irish which is so flippantly drawn, and inconsiderately recognised by their English neighbours.

The prevailing character of the inferior order of the Irish community, an order whereof the proportionate numeral magnitude renders it worthy of peculiar attention, seems to be greatly misunderstood in England. Even among intelligent, and otherwise well-informed Englishmen, there obtains a persuasion, that the common people of Ireland are but little removed above the level of savages, in any respect,—that they have no true sense of religion,—that they are brutal and ferocious in their manners—that they are illiterate and ignorant in the extreme—and that the Roman Catholic clergy employ their influence, with effect, in keeping them so.

The habitations of the Irish peasantry, it must be admitted, are, for the most part, little better than the huts of savages. The accommodations of the former, in few respects only, surpass those of the latter. The Irish peasant and the savage are almost equally capable of enduring hunger, fatigue and inclemency of weather. And, perhaps, it may be added, that, owing to the past misgovernment of Ireland, the Irish peasant does not much excel the savage, in just notions of liberty, or in due respect for the laws and civil institutions of man. But here the resemblance positively ceases. In all other particulars, the Irish peasant will be found, at least,

as far above the level of the savage man, as the well-housed, well-clad, and well accommodated peasant of England. The religion of the former may not be quite so evangelical as that of the latter. But a high veneration for religion; a firm reliance thereon; a steadfast belief in all the articles of Christian faith; and a scrupulous attendance at divine worship, are, beyond comparison, more common among the inferior orders of the Roman Catholic Irish, than among those of the Protestant English. An individual, utterly uninfluenced by a sense of religion, is rarely to be found among the former: but among the latter, especially in mining and manufacturing districts, the contrary is sufficiently notorious. Fierce, vindictive and cruel the Irish peasant confessedly is, when goaded, oppressed and tyrannically treated, as he has often been. But when otherwise, he certainly eclipses the peasant of England, in all the minor virtues of civilized man, superadded to the hospitality and, occasionally, to the fidelity of the savage. Affable, compassionate, generous, flexible, ready to serve, anxious to please, generally submissive, respectful, where respect is known to be due, addicted rather to flattery than rudeness, the Irish peasant, when treated in an unaffected conciliatory manner, with that kindness he deserves, with that generosity he is ever disposed to exercise, with that frankness which allays his habitual suspicions, and with that restrictedly polite familiarity which gratifies his native pride, will seldom fail to endear himself to his patron, or his benefactor, and to exhibit a character which, upon the whole, may be considered as not unworthy of a very high degree of philosophic approbation.

The outrages and atrocities of Irish white boys, right boys and rebels have, it is true, been barbarous and horrifying. But if authentic documents be resorted to; if the criminal calendars of Ireland and England be compared; it will be found, that, with the exception of periods of insurrection, capital offences are not, in proportion, so numerous, in the former, as in the latter. It will be found too, that those crimes which indicate an inconceivable degree of sensual depravity, and that which evinces an utter extinction of the natural, necessary and interesting affection which predominates throughout the whole female world, and which are not un-

frequent

frequent in England, are, the latter of them, extremely rare, and the former utterly unknown in Ireland.

That the lower orders of the Irish are extremely illiterate and ignorant, and that the Roman Catholic clergy successfully exert their influence in keeping them so, are hasty assertions, equally trite and untrue. If in two districts, comprising about one half of the county of Cork, there be found 316 unendowed schools, in which 21,892 children, chiefly of the lowest class of Roman Catholics, are instructed in reading, writing, common arithmetic, and, in several instances, the more abstruse parts thereof, in navigation, &c.; if in other districts, the unendowed schools be almost equally numerous*; if the lower Irish, in many parts of the country, speak two languages, idiomatically and essentially different, which, by the way, is far from being generally the case in Wales; and if there be found much fewer evidences of simplicity and ignorance of human nature, among the Irish peasants, than among the peasantry of other countries, which cannot easily be controverted; if the former, when in strange countries, prosecute their business with greater intelligence and success, and extricate themselves from accidental difficulties with much greater facility and address than the latter, which is a fact, there surely is not quite sufficient ground for pronouncing them comparatively illiterate and ignorant. And if the unendowed schools in, at least, three-fourth parts of Ireland, be, with very few exceptions, under the superintendance of Roman Catholic masters, is it not evident, either that the Roman Catholic clergy take no pains to keep the lower class of their laity in a state of ignorance; or that their influence does not extend sufficiently far to do so; and, consequently, that, in either case, that which is received as fact, is the opposite to truth.

The foregoing strictures, on the several sources of information, respecting the circumstances of Ireland, having a manifest tendency to create, on the part of the reader, a confident expectation of deriving ample and satisfactory information from the following pages, the writer feels the necessity of taking this early opportunity to deprecate an expectation of that nature.

* The reader is referred to the Appendix for the truth of several of these observations.

Far from presuming to encourage it, he frankly forewarns his reader of approaching disappointment in more instances than one. While, at the same time, he must, in justice to his friends, acknowledge that he has been liberally supplied, from almost every quarter, with whatever authentic information he had occasion to solicit, and those to whom he addressed himself were then prepared to impart : with a sufficiency to preclude the necessity of resorting to disputable authority, except in a very few unimportant instances: indeed with much more than he sought after, or can, on the present occasion, conveniently employ.

The fact is, the apparent urgency of exhibiting the real value of Ireland, by disclosing or illustrating several of the circumstances thereof, which are either unknown or imperfectly understood by the British public; and an actual deficiency, which cannot yet be supplied, of requisite documents, respecting certain circumstances of a very interesting nature, have compelled the writer to narrow the limits which he originally prescribed to this work; and induced him, with a view to expedition, to treat some subjects in a brief, and rather perfunctory manner, on which he could, and perhaps ought to be diffuse.

But however defective and unsatisfactory these pages may, in some respects, be found, the writer will venture to indulge a hope, that, issuing, for the most part, from a collection of genuine documents and indisputable facts, they will have the effect of attracting, towards Ireland, a more than ordinary share of attention on the part of authoritative and intelligent individuals in England.

On a future occasion, he thinks it not improbable that he may be sufficiently prepared to supply the defects of the present work: meanwhile he feels himself prompted to press upon the consideration of his more intelligent and better informed countrymen, the obvious necessity of a faithful detection of the different circumstances of Ireland; in order that those, into whose hands the government thereof has fallen, may fully discharge that duty, from which he persuades himself they have no disposition to shrink.

Soli-

Solicitous to convey truth alone to the Legislature, and to the British public, he invites those of his countrymen, whose talents and information qualify them for the task, to disclose whatever errors he may accidentally fall into — to allow no unintentional misrepresentation, on his part, to be received as truth — and to exhibit, in their true colours, whatever subjects or measures he may happen to examine through some deceptive medium of which he may not be aware; or such as he may undesignedly or inadvertently place in an improper light. He has endeavoured, successfully, to rescue himself from prejudice, and has been diligent in search of truth; yet like others he may fall into errors.

Velut filvis, ubi passim
Palantes error certo de tramite pellet
Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit; unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus.

He belongs to no party; unless indeed that term be extended to those who are zealously attached to the Hanoverian Dynasty, and to the yet unrivalled systems of civil polity and jurisprudence of Great Britain. He is a foe to every species of tyranny, misgovernment and abuse of power. And when pleading the cause, or endeavouring to perpetuate the tranquillity of his native country, a country deservedly dear to him, and in which his earlier friendships were formed, and thus, as he conceives, labouring to promote the prosperity and vigour of the British empire, he little cares whether his language be pleasing or offensive to any party, or any public man whatever.

If, notwithstanding his declarations, he be precipitately accused of being a party writer, by those who may decline the trouble of sifting and comparing his sentiments, he trusts he will still have the consolation to find a vast majority of Britons and Irishmen ready to do ample justice to his motives. He has, indeed, been lately supplied with a strong additional reason for relying on the candour of his intelligent fellow-subjects, of every party. The gentlemen who conduct the literary review called "The British Critic," though appearing to hold opinions, on a very momentous political subject, incompatible with those he has long maintained; and consequently,

quently, *judicio vulgi*, of a different party; have not hesitated to recommend his last work "to the serious consideration of all whose situation and talents give them weight and influence in public measures, on the grounds of its being the result of laborious investigation, and *apparently dictated by genuine patriotism.*" And as his principles have certainly undergone no change, he can confidently hope, that those, who differ from him in opinion, will ascribe the present work, whatever be its demerits, to its true motive, an earnest solicitude for the joint welfare of Ireland and Great Britain.

The information of the British public being one of his principal objects, he will illustrate some of the circumstances of Ireland by occasional allusions to similar ones in England; which, otherwise, might perhaps be considered as superfluous. And, except where the contrary shall be notified, he will adopt the land measures of the latter, in preference to those of the former; there being a very considerable difference between them; and that difference almost universally unknown in England; and indeed far from being generally known in Ireland, though large tracts thereof, especially in the south, are let in English acres.

The difference, in question, is this: The Irish perch contains 21 feet, or 252 inches, the English $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, or 198 inches. Consequently, the number of perches comprised in the Irish and English miles being the same, viz. 320, the former contains 80,640 inches, the latter 63,360. The number which divides both of these, is 5,760. $80,640 \div 5,760 = 14$, $63,360 \div 5,760 = 11$. Eleven Irish miles, therefore, are equal to fourteen English miles: or one Irish mile is equal to 1 M. 2 F. $7\frac{1}{11}$ P. English. The square of the number of inches, in the Irish perch, viz. 252, is 63,504; and that of the number in the English perch, viz. 198, is 39,204. The number which divides both of these, is 324. $63,504 \div 324 = 196$, $39,204 \div 324 = 121$. One hundred and twenty-one Irish acres are, therefore, equal to one hundred and ninety-six English acres: or one Irish plantation acre is equal to 1 A. 2 R. $19\frac{1}{11}$ P. English. Those who take 5 to 8, 11 to 18, or 61 to 98 as the proportion of Irish and English acres, though not far from the truth, are evidently in error. To reduce Irish to English acres, the given number is to be multiplied by

196, and the product divided by 121; and to reduce English to Irish acres, the latter number is to be employed as the multiplier, and the former as the divisor. To ascertain how much a given sum arising, in the way of rent, from, or levied upon an Irish acre, would amount to on an English acre, that sum is to be multiplied by 121, and the product divided by 196, and *vice versa*. Thus 3d. per Irish acre is $1\frac{6}{7}$ d. per English acre, 6d. per Irish acre is $3\frac{1}{3}$ d. per English acre, 1s. per Irish acre is $7\frac{2}{3}$ d. per English, and 1l. per Irish acre is 12s. $4\frac{2}{5}$ d. per English acre.

The difference between British and Irish currency is so generally understood, that the writer thinks it unnecessary (after the following brief comparative statement, for the satisfaction of those few readers who may be unacquainted with that difference) to reduce, in any instance, the latter into the former:

Irish money.			British money.			British money.			Irish money.			Par of exchange.
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
0	0	1	0	0	$0\frac{1}{12}$	0	0	1	0	0	$1\frac{1}{12}$	8½ per cent.
0	1	0	0	0	$11\frac{1}{12}$	0	1	0	0	1	1	
1	0	0	0	18	$5\frac{7}{12}$	1	0	0	1	1	8	
5	0	0	4	12	$3\frac{2}{12}$	5	0	0	5	8	4	
100	0	0	92	6	$1\frac{1}{12}$	100	0	0	108	6	8	

As the writer will have occasion to enlarge on the subject of tillage, it seems proper to apprise the English reader, that under the act 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19. corn is to be exported from, and imported into Ireland by the barrel; and that the statute barrel of wheat is directed to weigh 20 stones, that of barley 16, and that of oats 14. For the information of several Irish readers, it may also be proper to observe that corn is exported from, and imported into England by the quarter; and that the medium weight of the quarter of English wheat is $32\frac{1}{2}$ stones, that of Barley 28, and that of oats $21\frac{1}{4}$.

To conclude these prefatory lines without acknowledging a high sense of obligation to those gentlemen who contributed to furnish the writer with much of the information he sought for, and from whom alone it could be obtained, would but ill correspond with his feelings. The Inspector General of the exports and imports of Ireland, Mr. Marshall, has a strong claim on his gratitude: so likewise has that gentleman's assistant,
Mr.

Mr. Hantenville; who, from the moment he was taught to believe that the writer's only object was the general welfare of the empire, politely, promptly, and under an extraordinary pressure of official business, supplied him with every sort of information within his reach: uniting, in his conduct, on the occasion, the manners of the gentleman and the zeal of the patriot. To the Right Reverend Doctor M'Carthy, Coadjutor Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, whose indefatigable exertions, combined with those of the venerable and amiable Moylan, in behalf of religion, morality and learning, are daily becoming conspicuously efficacious, the writer acknowledges himself greatly indebted. To the Right Reverend Doctors Young, Shughrue and Coppinger, and to several of the Roman Catholic clergymen, under the jurisdiction of these Prelates, he likewise feels extremely grateful. And he desires to assure the Reverend Doctors William O'Brien, and Richard Walsh that their intelligent and valuable communications justly merit his sincere thanks.

Coolmore, May 27th, 1803.

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☞ Although the substance of the following pages has been divided into four parts only, it is evidently susceptible of a division into six; and, consistently with philosophic accuracy, should be divided into the latter number. To divide it thus, would, however, have induced the necessity of enlarging on certain subjects more than seems requisite, in order to give a due proportion to each part. Besides, the few sections, which do not appear to coalesce with those which precede them, will be found sufficiently connected with them, to admit of their being comprised in the same division. The former number, therefore, has been, with little hesitation, adopted.

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Page	10,	Line	7,	for	bay	read	harbour						
—	18,	—	6,	for	countries	read	counties						
—	21,	—	17,	for	twenty-five	read	twenty-four						
—	21,	—	7,	from	bottom,	for	from	read	of				
—	24,	—	9,	for	thirty-five	read	twenty-five						
—	36,	note	5,	for	29,397 ^l .	read	29,327 ^l .						
—	45,	line	10,	dele	a								
—	54,	—	6,	from	bottom,	for	in	read	on				
—	60,	—	4,	from	bottom,	for	serve	read	servea				
—	98,	—	8,	for	occurrence	read	concurrence						
—	101,	—	20,	for	subsequent	read	subsequently						
—	112,	—	8,	for	it	read	House	of	Commons				
—	120,	—	4,	from	bottom,	for	3,574 ^l .	read	3,547 ^l .				
—	128,	—	21,	for	1762	read	1672						
—	132,	—	4,	for	1733	read	1773						
—	138,	—	5,	from	bottom,	for	5 G. 3. c.19.	read	7 G. 3. c. 19.				
—	142,	—	5,	from	bottom,	for	subsequent	read	subsequently				
—	286,	—	7,	add	£								
—	—	—	11,	add	£								
—	—	—	12,	add	£								
—	315,	—	5,	from	bottom	for	1000 ^l .	to	5000 ^l	read	100 ^l .	to	500 ^l .

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Page	22	and	23;	last	column,	for	Alms-houses	read	Alms-house
—	36,	for	Barryrove	read	Barryroe				
—	48,	for	30	continued	read	31			

TO THE BINDER.

The Map is to face the Explanation.

EXPLANATION OF THE ANNEXED MAP.

THE design of this Map is, to exhibit the situations and soundings of the several harbours, and other places where ships may occasionally anchor, in safety, round the coast of Ireland — the courses and relative distances of the navigable rivers — the practicable, projected and actual lines of internal navigation — the present state of each port, with regard to the exportation of the two principle articles of the Irish trade, provisions and linen — the number of houses in the sea-port towns, as returned to Parliament in the year 1800 — the mineral and fossil productions of the several counties; their respective areas; the number of houses in each, as returned to Parliament, in March 1792; the number of mills in each, from whence the market of Dublin was supplied with flour and corn, during the continuance of the bounty on the inland carriage of these articles; and the sums levied, by the grand juries, for making and repairing roads and bridges, and for other local purposes.

The harbours are distinguished, by anchors with stocks, from those places where ships may occasionally ride in safety. The Roman capital letters, within and without the sea-coast line, corresponding with the initials of the harbours and anchorages, point out their situations with sufficient accuracy. The figures, near the anchors, shew the soundings at low water; and the letters and abbreviations which accompany them, viz. M. SH. S. GR. CO. R. put for mud, shells, sand, gravel, coral, rock, indicate the nature of the anchoring ground.

The two small parallel lines, across the rivers, mark the termination of their navigable parts. The chains, with square links, coloured green, shew the rivers which were represented as capable of being rendered navigable, by the persons who were employed, in the early part of the last century, to survey Ireland, with a view to internal navigation. The chains, with round links, coloured red, point out the canals which have been lately projected or suggested. The lines of internal navigation, actually open, are coloured blue.

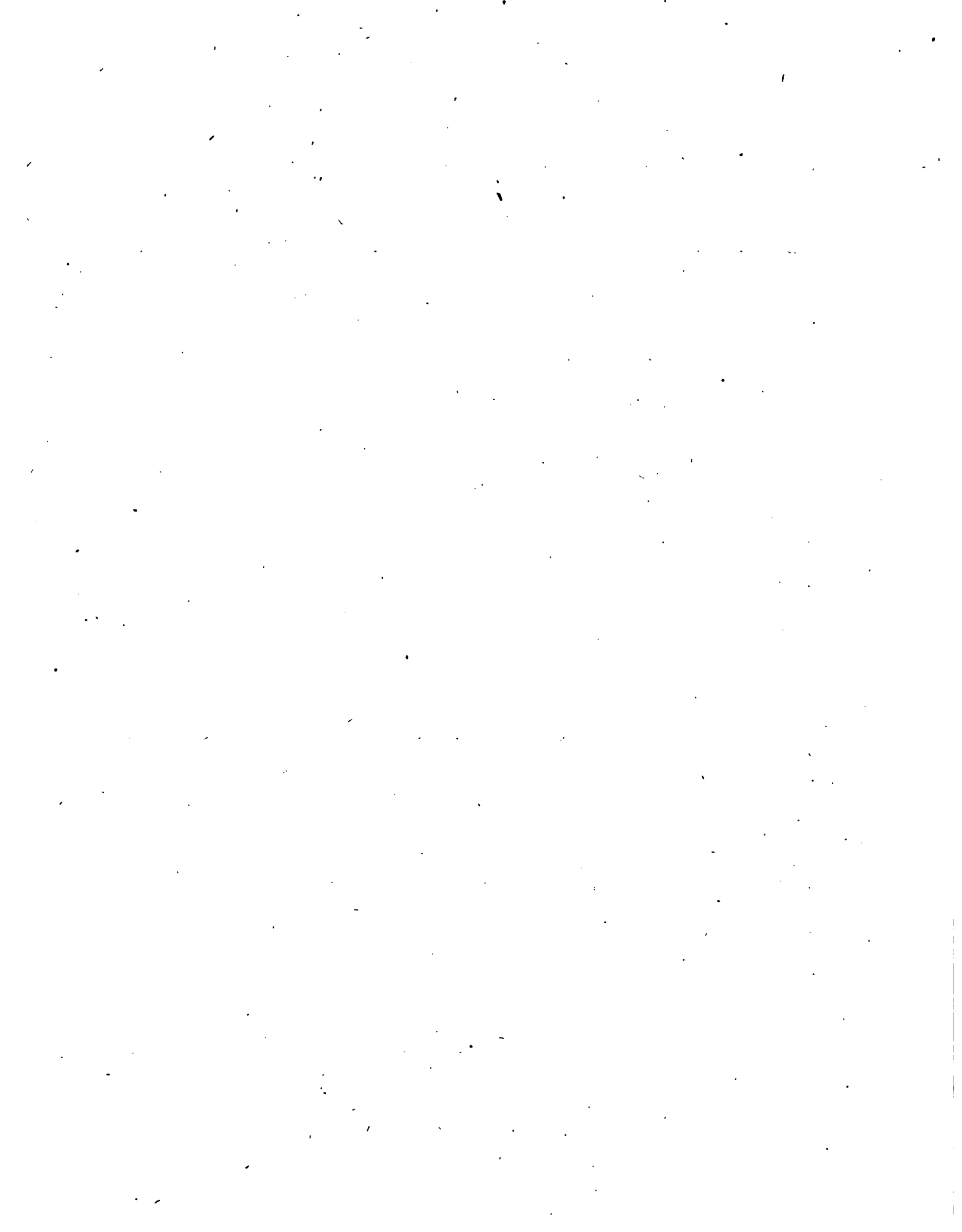
The letters P. L. F. on the curved tablets, beyond the coast line, stand for provisions and linen exported, and flaxseed imported; and the figures thereon mark the rank of each port, with regard to the exportation and importation of these articles. The particulars may be seen in the Table No. VIII. in the Appendix.

The letters and abbreviations, in the several counties, are put for the names of the minerals and fossils discovered therein, as in the following columns:

AA. Antimony	CR. Crystal	L. Lead	S. Slate
M. Amethyst	F. Fuller's earth	M. Marble	SI. Silver
B. Basalt	G. Gypsum	MAN. Manganese	S. S. Silicious sand
C. Coal	GA. Garnite	O. Ochre	SP. Spar, fluor
CH. Chalcedony	GO. Gold	P. Pebbles	SU. Sulphur
CL. Clay, potters, pipe, &c.	GR. Granite	PE. Pearls	T. Talc
CO. Cobalt	I. Iron	PET. Petrefactions	TI. Tin
COP. Copper	J. Jasper	PO. Porphyry	

These letters are not uniformly placed exactly in those parts of the counties where the different minerals and fossils have been found. In some instances, as in the counties of Carlow and Longford, the proper location of these was prevented by the introduction of the tablets. And, in a few others, the want of precise information rendered this impossible: as was the case with the garnites and chalcedony exhibited, in the Dublin museum, among the specimens brought from the county of Donegal. It must be observed too, that as iron, lead, copper, marbles and clays are found in different parts of the same counties, the position of the letters or abbreviations became a matter of indifference; and was, in such cases, left, in a great degree, to the convenience or fancy of the Engraver.

The figures in the tablets, on the left hand, in each county, denote the number of English acres therein. Those in the tablets, on the right hand, shew the number of houses, as returned, by the collectors of hearth-money, to the Inspector General, in the year 1792: since which, the population of Ireland has probably increased upwards of one-fourth; and this increase appears to have been chiefly in the southern and western counties. The figures in the lozenges, on the left hand, shew the number of acres to each inhabitant, one with another; six inhabitants being computed as the average number in each house, which a series of accurate surveys have evinced to be rather below, than above the truth. The figures in the lozenges, on the right hand, shew the greatest number of mills from whence flour and corn were sent to Dublin, in any year, since the commencement of the bounty on the inland-carriage of these articles. The sums between the lozenges are the greatest which were levied, in one year, by the several grand juries, during the years 1803-4-5-6, except in the counties of Galway, Wexford and Sligo, from whence no returns appear to have been made to Parliament, subsequently to the year 1802. The figures near the towns, except Dublin, indicate the number of houses in each, as returned to Parliament, immediately before the union. The number of houses which Dublin is represented to contain, is taken from Dr. Whitelaw's accurate survey of that city.



**Exports, Imports, Revenue and Debt of Ireland, in the Year after the Publication
of this Work.**

Exported from Ireland in the Year ended 5th of January, 1809.

Bacon	{ Flitches - No.	264,844	Drapery	{ New - - Yds.	14,447
	{ Hams - - Cwts.	11,611		{ Old - - -	657
Beer, Strong	- - Barrels	5,685	Hides	{ Tanned - - No.	1,263
Beef	- - -	122,064		{ Untanned - -	54,396
Bullocks and Cows	- No.	14,122	Kelp	- - - Tons	5,410
Butter	- - Cwts.	346,856	Lead	- - -	567
Copper	- - Tons	2,741	Linen	{ Coloured - Yds.	82,014
Corn	{ Barley - Barrels	59,891		{ Plain - - -	43,904,382
Unground	{ Oats - - -	935,850		{ Yarn - - - Cwts.	25,392
	{ Wheat - - -	79,189	Pigs	- - - No.	7,433
Corn	{ Flour - Cwts.	5,737	Pork	- - - Barrels	168,603
Ground	{ Oatmeal - - -	72,088	Spirits	{ Home-made - Galls.	512,098
				{ Foreign - - -	75,010

Current Value of the above and all other Articles of Irish Produce and Manufacture
exported in the foregoing Year, £12,577,517.

Imported into Ireland in the Year ended 5th of January, 1809.

Coals	- - - Tons	583,516	Spirits	{ British - Galls.	239,938
Cotton Goods	Value £228,579 7s. 2d.			{ Foreign - - -	813,030
Cotton	{ Wool - - Cwts.	22,620		{ of which, Rum, Galls.	721,545
	{ Yarn - - Lbs.	1,486,880	Sugar, Muscovado	- Cwts.	411,168
Drapery	{ New - - Yds.	1,399,155	Tea	{ Black - - Lbs.	3,614,270
	{ Old - - -	1,679,945		{ Green - - -	92,501
Flax Seed	- - Hhds.	21,785	Tobacco	- - -	3,979,751
Hardware	- Value £249,373 7s. 10d.				

Shipping employed in the Trade of Ireland.

Entered Inwards.			Cleared Outwards.		
Irish	- - - Tons	111,614	Irish	- - - Tons	108,435
Foreign	- - -	25,356	Foreign	- - -	27,856
British	- - -	696,403*	British	- - -	641,157

* Navigated by 38,426 Men and Boys.

**Principal Branches of the Ordinary Revenue of Ireland, in the Year ended 5th of
January, 1809.**

Customs and Excise.	Stamps.	Post Office.
£4,708,293	£660,387	£180,510

Total Expenditure - £9,536,295

	Debt.	
Funded	- £76,110,356	Unfunded - £570,747

Several of the Proof-sheets having, unavoidably, been revised in Haste, and under considerable Disadvantages, the following *Errata* escaped the Writer's Notice until some Time after the Publication of the Work.

Preface.

- Page 6, line 11, for incontrovertably read incontrovertibly
 10, — 1, for principle read principal
 — — 32, for or read nor
 11, — 1, from bottom, for prepare read prepared
 13, — 12, insert a comma after luckily
 15, — 2 from bottom, insert a comma after information
 16, — 16, for quirer read inquirer
 19, — 9, insert in before the
 22, — 7, for 3d $\frac{1}{18}$ read $\frac{1}{3}$

Explanation of the Map.

- 26, for A. M. read A.
 27, for M. read A. M.

Tent.

- 10, — 7, for bay read harbour
 12, — 20, insert a comma after approach
 14, — 23, for thirty-six read thirty-seven
 18, — 1, dele them
 — — 6, for countries read counties
 19, — 21, for crouded read crowded
 20, — 1, for countries read counties
 21, — 14, insert commas after Carrick and Waterford
 — — 17, read twenty-four
 — — 7 from bottom, for from read of
 22, — 12, dele to
 23, — 3 from bottom, insert commas after and, and navigable
 24, — 9, for thirty-five read twenty-five
 27, — 1 from bottom, for have been read be
 28, — 3 from bottom, for Lilly read Gilly
 30, — 9, for is read in
 — — 15, after than insert in
 31, — 4, for 60 read 50
 — — 6, for 120 read 100
 — — 8, for three read 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
 36, — 5, in Note, for 29,397 read 29,327
 44, — 25, for more read less
 45, — 10, dele a before sufficient
 47, — 10, for skeletons read bodies
 48, — 16, insert a semicolon after beautiful
 48, — 17, change comma from Neagh to Pebbles
 50, — 5, for country read county

- Page 50, line 13, for July read January
 54, — 6 from bottom, for in read on
 60, — 4 from bottom, for serve read serves
 64, — 5 from bottom, for opinion read opinions
 98, — 11, for occurrence read concurrence
 101, — 20, for sublequent read sublequently
 104, — 17, for coat read coats
 120, — 4 from bottom, for 3,574 read 3,547
 123, — 5, for effected read affected
 127, — 14, insert not after does
 128, — 21, for 1702 read 1672
 129, — 2 from bottom, for thereof read whereof
 132, — 4, for 1733 read 1773
 142, — 5, for sublequent read sublequently
 176, — 7 from bottom, for intitle read entitle
 184, — 9, for jurious read injurious
 198, — Note 10, for description read descriptions
 — — 3 from bottom, for enjoyed read enjoy
 209, — 9 from bottom, insert only after given
 235, — 9 from bottom, for three-fourths read one-fourth
 237, — 6, for find read feed
 242, — 10, for 10,260,755 read 10,266,755
 243, — 14, for equalled read surpassed
 255, — 15, for aristocracy read autocracy
 286, — 7, 11, 12, insert £, £, £
 302, — 19, insert as after and
 309, — 18, for unprecedently read unpre-
 dentedly
 310, — 18, for tha read that
 315, — 5 from bottom, for £1000 read £100
 and for £5000 read £500
 331, — 15, for bleifd read blessed

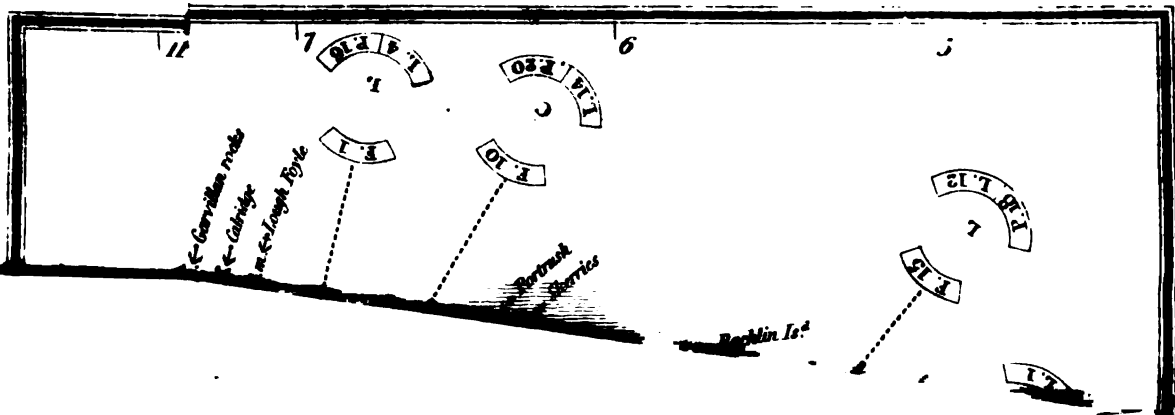
Appendix.

- Tab. 2, Column 4, line 1 from bottom, for 9,145 read 9,645
 — 3, — 4, — 1 from bottom, for 2,586 read 2,886
 — 7, — 2, — 12 from bottom, for 37,322,125 read 27,322,125
 — — 4, — 3 from bottom, for 39,678,469 read 33,018,472
 — 17, — 5, — 24 for 1225 read 1584
 — 18, — 5, — for Alms-houses read Alms-house
 — 26, — — 16 from bottom, for Barryrove read Barryroe

ERRATA.

- Page 32. line 6. *for the great part read a great*
90. — *ul. for precious read specious*
124. — 20. *for intellectual read intellect*
315. — 14. *from the bottom, for in runni*
ing
364. — 15. *for to esteem read to his esti*
394. — 7. *for The view read This vie*
403. — 8. *from the bottom, for of com*
the common maxims
407. — 5. *from the bottom, for dignity*
512. — 7. *from the bottom, for interfere*
531. — 6. *for were read where*
563. — 4. *for avoi read avoit*





NATURAL AND POLITICAL
C I R C U M S T A N C E S
OF
I R E L A N D.

INTRODUCTION.

“ **D**URING the time of my service in Ireland (says Sir John Davis) which began in the first year of His Majesty's (King James I.) reign, I have visited all the provinces of that kingdom in sundry journies and circuits. Wherein I have observed the good temperature of the air; the fruitfulness of the soil; the pleasant and commodious seats for habitations; the safe and large ports and havens lying open for traffic into all the west parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers; and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the land, as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe; the rich fishings and wild fowl of all kinds; and lastly, the bodies and minds of the people endued with extraordinary abilities by nature*.”

“ Had it not been (says Sir William Temple) for circumstances prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, and which seem natural, or at least to have been ever incident to the government of Ireland, the native fertility of the Irish soil and seas, in so many rich commodities, improved by a multitude of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom one of the

* Historical Relations, p. 1.

richest in Europe, and made a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the crown of England *.”

“Ireland (says the intelligent Mr. Brown) is, in respect of its situation, the number of its commodious harbours and the natural wealth which it produces, the fittest island to acquire riches of any in the European seas; for as by its situation it lies the most commodious for the West Indies, Spain and the northern and east countries, so it is not only supplied by nature with all the necessaries of life, but can over and above export large quantities to foreign countries, in so much that had it been mistress of a free trade, no nation in Europe of its extent, could, in an equal number of years, acquire greater wealth †.”

To illustrate the ground of these remarks, and to draw forth, from comparative obscurity and oblivion, such of the natural and political circumstances of Ireland as appear to merit peculiar attention, are the principal objects of the present work.

With this view, it is proposed, first, to exhibit those natural advantages by which Ireland seems, in an eminent manner, qualified for the attainment of commercial opulence and national strength. Secondly, to disclose the various causes which operated in rendering those advantages almost abortive. And thirdly, to review the circumstances which have tended to prevent a complete and uniform fruition of them; since the removal of the principal causes by which they were frustrated.

The more efficient natural advantages which qualify a country for the attainment of riches, by means of external and internal traffick, are, a favourable situation, relatively to other countries; numerous and commodious harbours; extensive navigable rivers; a convenient supply of materials for making durable roads; a temperate climate; an abundance of such minerals and fossils as are capable of being greatly enhanced in value by the labour and ingenuity of man; productive fisheries; and a fertile soil, with the means of increasing and preserving its fertility.

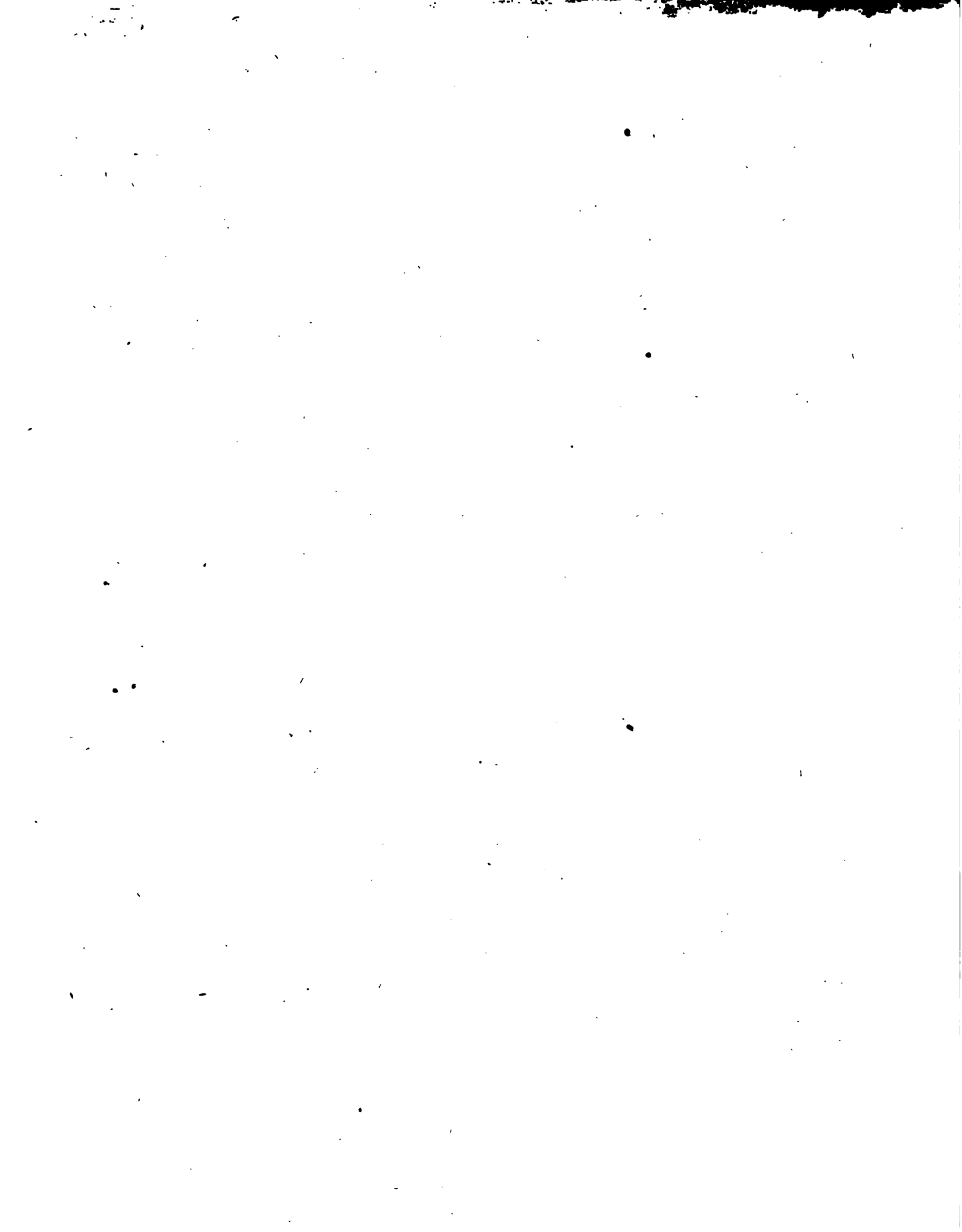
Under a well constituted and permanent government, competent to afford due protection to its subjects, an industrious people, enjoying personal liberty, security of property, internal peace, and experiencing suitable en-

* Miscellaneous works, vol. iii. p. 8.

† Essays on trade in general, and on that of Ireland in particular, page 38. published in 1728.
courage-

couragements, on the part of a prudent and solicitous legislature, can scarcely fail to acquire commercial wealth and national strength in proportion to the number of these natural advantages, and the extent and value of each.

With respect to a few of them, individually taken, and considered in their utmost perfection, Ireland is, no doubt, equalled by several other countries, and even greatly surpassed by some. But with respect to the aggregate of these advantages, and to the more important ones among them, there can be little risk in affirming, that Ireland ranks considerably above almost any known country in the world. Yet, it is a melancholy truth, that, owing to a tissue of political circumstances of an unpropitious nature, she has ever been greatly surpassed, in point of national opulence, and the blessings resulting from that general civilization which ordinarily accompanies increasing national wealth, by other countries much less bounteously endowed by the Almighty.



PART I.

OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES WHICH QUALIFY IRELAND FOR THE
ACQUISITION OF COMMERCIAL WEALTH.

SECTION I.

Relative Situation.—Harbours.—Sea-Coast.

Relative Situation.—**W**HOEVER will cast an eye over a chart of the world, as exhibited by a projection of the sphere, will find no difficulty in admitting, that the situation of Ireland, relatively to all other countries, capable of receiving and bestowing the reciprocal benefits of external commerce, is favourable in the extreme. Its communication is open and direct with England, France, Spain, Portugal, the coast of Africa, the East-Indies, South-America, the West-Indies, the United States of America, Newfoundland, Hudson's-bay, Greenland, &c. with by far the greater part of the richest, the most fertile, the most commercial, and the most mutually dependent countries in the world; with countries abounding in an endless variety of commodities, furnishing every material on which the varied industry of man can be employed, and presenting the utmost allurements to the enterprising trader. Its communication with the rest and least valuable part of the world is, upon the whole, neither more circuitous, nor more difficult than that of other European countries, with many of those places which the ordinary pursuit of extended and diversified commerce requires their traders to visit. It seems destined by nature to be the great emporium of the commodities of Europe and America; and indeed of those of almost every maritime country upon the surface of the globe.

In respect of situation, it manifestly surpasses that country (Holland) which, in less than a hundred and fifty years, under great physical disadvantages, and struggling to preserve its acquired place among the nations of Europe, rose from obscurity and indigence to conspicuity and opulence, by collecting and distributing the products of other countries; and by the industry, frugality, perseverance and enterprising spirit of its inhabitants, effectually seconded by their enjoyment of internal peace, liberty and security.

In the same respect, Ireland excels England also; it being possible for ships, departing from a majority of the ports of the former, to reach the western coast of France, the coasts of Portugal and Spain, and even that of North America, to perform half the voyage to the West-Indies, or to the different countries bordering on the Mediterranean sea, before the ships, which sail from the greater part of the ports of the latter, can enter the Atlantic ocean*. In short, with regard to locality, Ireland is inferior to no country, and obviously superior to almost every other.

Harbours.—But the mere locality of a country, however favourable, is not alone sufficient to entitle it to hold a distinguished place among those which possess the various other natural requisites for a speedy, safe and general prosecution of commerce. Compared with these, it is indeed of secondary importance, though confessedly far from being of a trivial nature.

In making an estimate of the natural endowments of a country, with reference to trade, a very high degree of consideration is justly due to its harbours. They are the points of confluence, the centres of attraction of foreign and domestic produce and manufactures. The more numerous they are, the nearer is every part of the country to a market, and consequently the better situated for carrying on trade.

With regard to these important requisites, there is no country in the world, of the same, or even much greater extent, that can pretend to vie with Ireland. The extremely sinuous line of its sea coast, exclusive of such parts as lie within estuaries, or above the first good anchorage in every harbour, but inclusive of the river Shannon, as far as the tide reaches, and the shores of Bantry bay, Dunmanus bay, and Kenmare river, will, if accurately followed through all its windings, be found to measure 1,737 miles. In this line, there are no fewer than 130 harbours and places where ships may anchor for a tide, or find shelter during the continuance of adverse winds. Consequently to each harbour or road, taken one with another, there are not thirteen miles and a half of sea-coast: or, all parts of the coast are, on an average, within less than six miles and a quarter of some safe anchoring place or harbour. The greatest distance of one harbour or anchoring place from another, which is that of Scatterry

* In the course of the evidence given before the committee of the British privy council, when the commercial intercourse between England and Ireland was in agitation, great stress was laid on the superiority of the latter over the former in point of situation.

island in the river Shannon, from Casleh bay in the county of Galway, is 68 miles *. The next greatest distance, is that from the anchoring ground off Arklow, in the county of Wicklow, to the anchoring ground off Balliniskier, in the county of Wexford, which is 27 miles. The other harbours or roads, lie, for the most part, within a very short distance of each other: in many instances, nearly contiguous. Indeed, in several of the great bays, such as those of Donegal and Bantry, the Kenmare river, as the bay of that name is called, the river Shannon, and likewise on other parts of the coast, the harbours and anchoring places often lie so near, that, although, when at opposite sides of the bay, they facilitate the exportation of the products of districts considerably distant from each other, each of these assemblages should perhaps more properly be considered as one port only. In this case, and with the exclusion of all the roads or anchoring places, the number of harbours will be reduced to 70 as underneath †. But as the circuit of Ireland does not exceed 887½ miles, if measured by lines stretched between those headlands or promon-

* The entrance of the bay of Galway is nearer; but the place where ships anchor is at a greater distance from Scatterry island than the anchoring place in Casleh bay.

† Achilbeg island.	Claggan.	Inishkiel.	Sheephaven.
Ardbear.	Clognakilty.	Inishbofin.	Skerries.
Bantry.	Courtnasherry.	Killery.	Sligo.
Baltimore.	Croit.	Kilkerran.	Smerwick.
Ballinakiel.	Crookhaven.	Killala.	Strangford.
Ballinskelligs.	Donegal.	Kinfale.	Strabegy.
Ballidehab.	Donaghadee.	Kenmare.	Swilly.
Balbriggan.	Dingle.	Larne.	Tralee.
Belfast.	Drogheda.	Limerick.	Tramore.
Beldoyle.	Dundalk.	Longisland.	Tillen.
Birtirbui.	Dublin.	Malahide.	Tullochan.
Blackfod.	Dunmanus.	Mulroy.	Valentia.
Broadhaven.	Dungarvan.	Newport, or Clew-	Ventry.
Casleh.	Foyle.	bay.	Waterford.
Castlemain.	Feathard.	Oyster-haven.	Wexford.
Castlehaven.	Galway.	Quoylagh.	Wicklow.
Carlingford or Newry.	Glandore.	Rutland.	Youghall.
Cork.	Greatman's bay	Rush.	

There are only 79 ports belonging to the United States of America, and of these nine are so little frequented, notwithstanding the extensive commerce of that country, that their aggregate revenues, in four years ended in March 1805, did but little exceed 4,500 dollars, out of upwards of 45 millions.

tories,

tories, in number 56, which exclude from the measurement the greatest space of sea, the respective distances of these harbours, one with another, is still less than that of the harbours and roads in the foregoing case, being under thirteen miles. The greatest distance of any one from another is that before mentioned, from Scatterry island, in the river Shannon, to Casleh bay. The next, is that between Wicklow and Wexford, which is about forty-six miles. These distances being excluded, the harbours of Ireland will be found to lie within a very few miles of each other.

It is further to be observed, that the maritime counties of Ireland comprise about two-thirds of its area, or 19,451 square miles, out of 30,374; and that consequently, if we introduce again into the account all the different harbours and roads, which, in this view of the subject, is certainly admissible, we shall find that, in these counties, taking one district with another, there is a harbour, or safe anchoring place to about every 150 square miles, or every 96,000 acres.

It may be observed likewise, that Ireland being 306 miles long, from Fairhead in the county of Antrim to Mizen-head in the county of Cork, and 207 miles broad, from Emlaghraish in the county of Mayo to Carnfore point in that of Wexford; the aggregate number of miles of its length and breadth does not much exceed five-eighths of the number contained in its line of sea-coast.

It is also to be observed, that besides the harbours and roads already noticed, the islands, which lie from one, to about eight miles off the coast, present four of the former, and three of the latter; making the total number one hundred and thirty-seven.

Many of the harbours of Ireland rank, in all respects, with the noblest in the world. Several of them excel those of which any other country can boast.

Lough Swilly, on the northern coast, is twelve miles long from abreast of Doonaffhead to Inch island; and, where broadest, about three miles and a half. The soundings, at low water, are throughout, from two to twelve fathoms; at the different anchoring places, four, seven, eight, or ten; and the bottom is sand, shells or mud, but chiefly the first.

Bantry-bay, on the south-west coast, is twenty-two miles long, from abreast of Sheephead to Ballyliky, and five miles broad from the former to Beer island. The soundings, in the bay, are from seven to thirty-two fathoms.

fathoms: Beerhaven, which is included therein, is seven miles and a half long, and one mile and a half where broadest. The soundings in this haven, at low water, are from one fathom and a half to twelve; in general about eight; and the bottom is for the most part stiff cohesive mud. Glengaruff harbour, also within Bantry-bay, is about two miles long, and about one and a half broad. The soundings are from two to ten fathoms, generally about eight; and the bottom the same as that of Beerhaven. The anchoring ground to the east of Whiddy island, in this bay, is likewise fit for the reception of large ships. The stream of tide in Bantry-bay is scarcely perceptible; which is also the case in the neighbouring bay of Dunmanus.

Cork harbour, on the southern coast, is, according to Captain M'Kenzie's chart, about six miles long from east to west, measured from the shore of Rostillan to that of Monkstown; and about three miles from north to south, measured from Cushkinny to Carlisle fort. The soundings at the principal anchoring place, where the ships of war lie, are from five to ten fathoms at low water, generally about six; and the bottom is tenacious mud.

The river Shannon, on the west coast, affords another fine and spacious harbour. From Kerryhead, at the mouth of this noble river, to Scattery island where the ships of war and East Indiamen usually anchor, the distance is seventeen miles; and from the Kerry to the Clare shore by that island, the breadth of the river is nearly three miles. The soundings throughout, westward of Scattery island, are from two to twenty fathoms, near that island from two to seven, with a mud bottom. The shores are safe; and the spring tides, when strongest, do not run more than a mile in the hour towards the mouth of the river. The approaches to these noble harbours appear to be perfectly free from danger.

Inferior to these, in some respects, but superior to those which are to be found in almost any other country in Europe, or perhaps in the world; are the following ones.

Blackfod harbour on the western coast, lying nearly north and south, with its entrance to the west; and completely sheltered by the high land of Achil island from the stormy winds which blow from the south-west. It is about five miles and a half long, from abreast of Kinfinnalty point to Claggan; and where broadest five miles. The soundings in the harbour are

not less than three fathoms; and at the anchoring places from two to four and a half, with a sandy bottom. It may be approached with perfect safety. Birtirbui harbour, also on the west coast, lying east and west, and separated from that of Roundstone by the island of Inishnee, is, from the small island at its entrance, to the island called Ilanaguram, three miles and a half long; and almost every where at least two miles broad. The entrance of this bay is about half a mile across; and the soundings therein, at low water, are everywhere from six to eight fathoms. The soundings on the anchoring ground, which stretches over almost the whole harbour, are from three to ten fathoms, generally about seven; and the bottom is, for the most part, mud. The approach to this fine harbour, which is obviously capable of affording ample accommodation to a large fleet of the heaviest men of war, and which might easily be rendered impregnable, is not wholly free from danger, at least in bad or hazy weather; as several dangerous rocks lie in the way. Those, however, which are to be met with in the direct course from sea are generally about two miles asunder; have deep water all around them; and attention being paid to their situation with respect to the Skirds and Carrickameel rocks, which are visible, they may with little difficulty be avoided.

Broadhaven, likewise on the west coast, Belfast lough on the north-east coast, Waterford on the south-east, Kinfale, Crookhaven, Castlehaven, on the south and south-west coasts, are all excellent harbours; and may be approached with safety in tempestuous weather.

Strangford lough, on the north-east, and lough Foyle, on the north coast, are safe and capacious harbours; but the entrance into the former is somewhat dangerous; and that into the latter narrow. This, in a greater degree, is the case with Killery harbour, on the west coast, which is two miles and a half long, and about half a mile broad, with from eight to ten fathoms, and a bottom of mud.

Carlingford harbour, on the north-east coast, is capable of accommodating a considerable fleet; its anchoring ground being three miles and a half long, and a mile and a half broad, with from one to six fathoms of water, for the most part, on mud. Its entrance, however, is rather intricate.

Ventry harbour, on the south-west coast, might vie with many of these,
if

if its bottom were less foul. Smerwick harbour on the same coast, Greatman's bay, Casheen and Casleh bays on the west, Sheephaven and Mulroy on the north, and Baltimore on the south coast, are also fine harbours; as, notwithstanding its comparative smallness, is the harbour of Killybegs on the north-west coast, affording the safest anchorage, with from two to ten fathoms of water, and a bottom of mud.

To extend this account any further seems superfluous, as the prefixed map will convey to the reader sufficient information with respect to the remaining harbours of Ireland*.

Among the islands adjacent to its sinuous coast, and of which, exclusive of those that lie within the great bays, there are near one hundred inhabited, most of them fertile, some of them, such as the isles of Arran off the coast of Galway, the island of Valentia, and the Magharea islands off the coast of Kerry, surprisngly so, there are, as before noticed, in addition to the harbours and anchoring places introduced into the list, four of the former and three of the latter, laid down by Captain M'Kenzie. But besides these, there are several places where small craft may find shelter, and lie for a time in safety.

Of the harbours, the principal one is Church-bay in the island of Rachlin or Rachree. This island lies one mile and a quarter from the coast of Antrim. Its bay or harbour, which is opposite that coast, is very spacious, being about three miles and a half broad at its entrance, and about two miles and a half deep. Its soundings are from four to fifteen fathoms at a short distance from the shore, and three fathoms quite close to it, with a fair sandy bottom. It appears sufficiently well sheltered, and capable of accommodating a considerable fleet. The harbour in the isle of Arran, off the coast of Galway, is commodious, secure, and might be effectually defended by a very small force. Its soundings are from two to five fathoms, with a sandy bottom.

Where the islands lie crowded together near the coast, as is the case off the western and southern coasts, near the bay of Galway, and the har-

* For the information of some readers, it may be necessary to observe, that men of war of the first rate draw 28 feet, and require six more to lie with perfect safety in a high swell, making together five fathoms four feet; those of the second rate about five fathoms; frigates four fathoms, and merchant ships seldom more than three, but in general less.

bour of Baltimore, they divide the sea into innumerable straits resembling canals, and in most instances navigable by vessels of considerable burthen. In Clew bay, there are upwards of three hundred islands, in general extremely fertile, with many safe anchorages among them.

With respect then to number, proximity, security, and spaciousness of harbours, affording by these means the utmost facility to the prosecution of commerce, Ireland may justly be said to stand unrivalled among other countries of equal or even much greater extent. And if these numerous and noble harbours be considered, together with its peculiarly happy position, this country must surely appear to every intelligent man to be pre-eminently qualified by nature, in these respects at least, for exercising the utmost maritime controul.

In number of harbours, England and Wales, in proportion to their extent of sea coast, appear to fall considerably short of Ireland. Besides a very great proportion of their harbours are mere creeks or coves, such as Ailnmouth, Aberdovey, Bamborough, Barmouth, and Southwold; dangerous, such as Exmouth, Beaumaris, and others; dry, such as Blackney, Burnham, Wells, and Whitby; or barred, difficult of approach; or artificial, such as Barnstable, Berwick, Maitport, Minehead, Margate, Scarborough, Whitehaven, Workington, and others. Of which last sort, Balbriggan, Bangor, Donaghadee, Dunleary, Feathard, Rush, Skerries, and Wicklow, are the only ones included among the harbours of Ireland.

Were it necessary to augment the number of such harbours in Ireland, it seems extremely possible to do so to a considerable extent; there being one hundred and ten estuaries or inlets of the sea round the coast, many of which, apparently, might be rendered capable of affording protection to ships of different burthens at no great expence.

From the restoration to the 30th year of George II., there passed fifty-two acts for making, repairing, improving, and preserving the following harbours: viz. Arundel, Bridport, Burlington, Dover, Ellenfoot, Ilfracomb, Lyme, Liverpool, Margate, Minehead, Newhaven, Parton, Catwater, Poole, Ramsgate, Rye, Scarborough, Southwold, Sunderland, Watchet, Weymouth, Whitby, Whitehaven, and Yarmouth. Of these acts, three were passed in the reign of Charles the second, one in that of James the second, five in that of William, seven in that

that of Anne, twelve in that of George the first, and twenty-four in that of George the second. But, in Ireland, the only acts of the same nature, which were passed from 1665 to 1786 inclusive, were those which follow: viz. an act for inclosing the strand on the north side of the river Liffey, 1 G. II. c. 26.; an act for cleansing the ports, harbours, and rivers of Cork, Galway, Belfast, Sligo, and Drogheda, and erecting ballast offices therein, 3 G. II. c. 21.; and an act for promoting the trade of Dublin, by rendering its harbour and port more commodious, 26 G. III. c. 19. The grants of the Irish parliament for harbours, piers, &c. were as follow: viz. in 1756, 2,000*l.* for Skerries pier: in 1757, 500*l.* for Bangor pier: in 1765, 1,200*l.* for Killileagh pier in Strangford harbour, 1,000*l.* for Dingle quay, and 1,300*l.* for Sligo harbour: in 1771, 500*l.* for the quay of Galway: in 1775, 500*l.* for the pier of Portrane near Rush: in 1783, 600*l.* for the pier of Lisconnor, 1,000*l.* for Galway harbour, and 500*l.* for Carrickfergus quay: likewise in different years from 1761 to 1783, 21,500*l.* for Cork harbour: in 1783, 1,000*l.* for Dublin harbour: in 1761, 1763, and 1765, 6,752*l.* for Balbriggan pier: from 1756 to 1765 inclusive, 18,500*l.* for Dunleary pier: in 1756 and 1767, 1,870*l.* for Enver pier: in 1771 and 1777, 1,500*l.* for Youghal harbour and piers: in 1781, 500*l.* for Dungarvan quay: in 1765, 2,500*l.* for Limerick quay: in 1767, 1771, and 1777, 2,800*l.* for Carlingford bay, wet dock, and piers: in 1767, 2,000*l.* and 400*l.* annually for eight years for Dundalk harbour: in 1765, 1767, and 1771, 4,590*l.* 15*s.* for Londonderry quay: in 1745 and 1763, 13,290*l.* 19*s.* 6½*d.* for Ballycastle harbour: from 1759 to 1767 inclusive, 9,264*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* for Wicklow harbour: in 1775 and 1777, 2,705*l.* for Donaghadee harbour—amounting altogether to 103,073*l.* 4*s.* 2½*d.* from the year 1703 to 1789 inclusive.

Now it is to be observed that this period includes an interval of five years, subsequent to 1750, when the nation was not only not in debt, but had a redundance in its treasury; and also another interval from 1780 to 1786 inclusive, during which various spirited and unprecedented exertions were made to promote the trade of Ireland; and when, it is to be presumed, that the harbours, if in any respect defective, would not have been overlooked, as very considerable sums were annually granted for public works of inferior utility. It may be affirmed likewise, on sufficient

ficient grounds, that if the harbours had afforded pretexts for the expenditure of any great proportion of the public money, individuals would not have been wanting who would have found means to avail themselves of these pretexts, with the sole view of filling their private purses at the public expence. How much of the foregoing sum of 103,073l. 4s. 2½d. was faithfully expended in the different works to which it was appropriated, it would be difficult to conjecture. We may suspect, however, that little more than one half, if so much, was thus expended; it being well known that among those in the Irish community, who were capacitated to enjoy the patronage of government, there has almost uniformly been, with a few individual exceptions, not only a shameful want of public spirit, but an inveterate propensity to outrageous jobbing.

—To pursue the comparison between England and Ireland in respect of harbours a little farther, it may truly be observed, that there are not twenty harbours in England and Wales which can be classed with forty of the best in Ireland: nor, with perhaps the single exception of Milford, which is about seven miles long and one broad, with from four to thirteen fathoms on a bottom of mud, is there one in the former which can, in almost any respect, be compared with the best ten in the latter: and that if the safe anchoring places be added to the harbours of each country, Ireland will rank above England, not only in capacioufness, safety, and proportionate number of harbours, but likewise in the general number of places for the accommodation of shipping; there being one hundred and thirty-six harbours and anchoring places belonging to the former; and, as far as appears by the charts which the writer has examined, only one hundred and twelve to the latter.

Sea-Coast. There is likewise another very important respect in which Ireland appears to have a great advantage over other maritime countries, namely the general safety of its coasts. The foundings from Carnfore Point, in the county of Wexford, round by Cape Clear to the hill of Howth in the county of Dublin, a course of 780 miles, are, within less than two miles of the coast, from seven to fifty fathoms; generally upwards of 20 within a quarter of a mile of the western, northern, and most part of the southern coasts. From the Saltee islands, off the coast of Wexford, to Ballard's Point, in the county of Clare, a space of 257 miles, including that part of Ireland which is best situated for foreign trade, and every
where

where indented with harbours, the coast is for the greater part so safe that it may generally be approached without a pilot *. The few sunken rocks in that space, except a cluster near the Great Blasket island, off the county of Kerry, lie contiguous to the coast; and those which rise above the water are visible at a great distance, in some instances, at the distance of several leagues; and have deep water round and close to them. The Staggs of Castlehaven, one mile and a quarter from shore, have from 6 to 16 fathoms water round them. The Fafnet rock, four miles from Cape Clear, has from 18 to 22. The Bull, Cow, and Calf, within about two and three miles of Durfey island, off the coast of Cork, have from 34 to 39. The Foze rock, five miles from the Great Blasket island, off the Kerry coast, has from 29 to 45. The Skelligs, seven miles from Bolus Head, in the same county, have from 15 to 38. The Lemon rocks near these, have from 15 to 32. And the Tiraght rock, off the same coast, distant about five miles, has from 23 to 39 fathoms round it.

From Hag's Head, in the county of Clare, to Goulin Head, in the county of Galway, a space of forty miles, the coast is perfectly safe: and from Buinaha Point, in the county of Mayo, north about to the hill of Howth, in the county of Dublin, a space of 39 $\frac{1}{4}$ miles, it is also free from any danger except five sunken rocks near the island of Inishglore, nine between Daurus Head and Aranmore island, three about one mile from Ringmore Point, at the entrance of Mulroy harbour, the rock called Hely Hunter, one mile and a half from the Down coast, and the Pladden Rocks near the entrance of Strangford lough. The following rocks, in that space, are visible from afar, and may safely be approached: the Staggs of Broadhaven, distant from the coast of Mayo one mile and a half, having from 12 to 27 fathoms water round them: Boahinchi Rocks, six miles and a half from the coast of Sligo, having from 4 to 16 fathoms: Carrickavrank Rock one mile from Melmore Point, in the county of Donegal, having 23 fathoms: the Staggs of Uay Island, off the same coast, and distant from that island one mile, having from 12 to 18 fathoms: Hulen Rock, off the coast of Antrim, and about seven miles distant therefrom, having from 9 to 57 fathoms: and Rock-a-bill, four miles from

* The dangerous bay of Tramore, in the county of Waterford, being liable to be mistaken for the entrance of Waterford harbour, has frequently proved fatal to mariners little acquainted with the coast.

Skerries,

Skerries, in the county of Dublin, having from 9 to 18 fathom of water around it.

From Dublin harbour, indeed, to the Saltee islands, there are many sand banks and some rocks. From Ballard's Point to Hag's Head, in the county of Clare, there is a dangerous bay, the proper name of which is Mul Bay, but which is not unfrequently called Mal Bay. And from Goulin Head, in the county of Galway, to Buinaha Point, in that of Mayo, there are a very considerable number of rocks, partly visible, and partly but chiefly below the surface of the sea, which render the navigation, in this space, extremely hazardous in bad weather.

But still, after these exceptions, it will be found that 688 miles, or upwards of six-eighths of the coast of Ireland are almost entirely free from any hidden danger.

That England and Wales can boast of no such exemption is well known to those who are acquainted with the eastern coast of the former, and the western and northern coasts of the latter; and might be inferred by others from the much greater frequency of shipwrecks on the coast of England than on that of Ireland.

SECTION II.

Rivers.—Roads.

Rivers. **N**AVIGABLE rivers, canals, and good roads, by facilitating the transportation of the produce of the soil and the materials for its improvement, not only tend to secure a country against famine, inasmuch as seasons very seldom occur which are equally unpropitious to every species of soil and variety of situation, but conduce, in an eminent manner, to the success of cultivation on the one hand, and on the other, prevent that discouragement which the cultivators might experience in consequence of a recurrent depreciation of the value of their corn, occasioned by their inability to transport the casual redundancies thereof to other districts where comparative scarcity might prevail.

From agriculture home manufactures naturally spring; and, in the course of time, many of these, if duly encouraged and protected, become valuable articles of export.

The perfection of manufacturing industry depends altogether on the division of labour; and the degree to which that division is pushed in every manufacture is governed by the extent of the market. Accordingly in those parts of a country which have little or no communication with the rest, an individual often exercises several of those trades which, in other parts more happily circumstanced, are exercised with more than tenfold effect by distinct persons.

Navigable rivers, canals and even good roads, by connecting the different parts of a country together, open an extensive market for the varied produce of the industry of its inhabitants; and thereby induce that subdivision of labour which enables them to supply home consumers at the cheapest rate, and to furnish a surplus for exportation.

In respect of navigable rivers, those great auxiliaries of the two great efficient causes of national wealth, agriculture and internal trade, no country will be found more favorably circumstanced than Ireland.

In addition to a vast number of rivers, several of them navigable, many of them considerable, which lose themselves in others, in the interior parts of the country, there are in Ireland, exclusive of small streams, one hundred and twenty-five which flow directly and immediately into the sea, or its different inlets.

The maritime countries comprise, as before noticed, two-thirds of the land of Ireland. Each of them has from two to twelve of these rivers in proportion to the extent of its sea-coast; nor, with the exception of Wicklow, is there one of them which has not the advantage of one or more rivers, either actually navigable, to a very considerable distance from the sea, or capable of being rendered so at a moderate expence*.

Many of the inland counties likewise participate this advantage with those on the coast. Indeed there is not one of them which might not be rendered capable of enjoying it.

The names of several of the Irish rivers which flow immediately into the sea are omitted in all the maps and charts which have fallen under the writer's observation; and, in some instances, different names have been given to the same river by different geographers and topographers. The list below is the best which he has been able to form †.

A de-

* The grand and royal canals actually give the county of Dublin all the advantages of internal navigation. It has, therefore, been included in the remark, though the Liffey can scarcely be said to entitle it to be so, being navigable for small boats only to Chapelized.

† Arigadeen,	Black-water,	Dundalk-river,	Glenely,
Arrow,	Bonnow,	Earne,	Glenachy,
Askeaton river,	Boyne,	Eask,	Glendon,
Aughnacloy,	Brickey,	Elky,	Glenshest,
Awinbanna,	Bunrofs,	Fane,	Glyde,
Awinea,	Bush,	Fartrey,	Guibarra,
Awinmore, Mayo,	Carnamort,	Fartin,	Guidore,
Awinmore, Sligo.	Carra,	Faughan,	Ileen,
Awinbuy,	Clandagh,	Fergus,	Inny,
Ballibough river,	Coyle,	Flurry,	Inver,
Bann,	Cumhola,	Foyle,	Kilkeel,
Bando,	Cushin,	Fourmile water,	Lackah,
Bannoy,	Clare,	Garroag,	Lagan,
Ballinahinch river,	Dargel,	Glanmire,	Larne river,
Barrow,	Dee,	Glanmoy,	Lane,
Black-river,	Dodder,	Glenarm,	Lee, Cork,
			Lee,

A detailed description of such of these rivers as are, or might be, rendered ancillary to commerce, can scarcely be expected in a work of this nature; and might perhaps be deemed unnecessary. Some of them, however, appear to be of such vast importance, in a commercial point of view, as to merit particular notice.

The noble river Shannon, considered in all respects, may fairly be ranked high in the first class of European rivers. Compared with the Thames, it appears upon the whole to very great advantage. A few funkent rocks, it is true, render certain parts of its navigable course somewhat difficult from Limerick to Achinish island; but the shoals which lie crowded together at the mouth of the Thames, would make the navigation thereof perhaps impracticable if the buoys were removed. The mouth of the Shannon, as was before observed, forms a capacious bay, eight miles long, and seven where broadest, perfectly free from every species of danger, and from the inconvenience of a strong current. In this respect, as indeed, in almost all others, it excels both the Severn and the Thames. Its navigable course, from abreast of Kerry Head to Ballintranee Bridge at the entrance of Lough Allen, through which it passes from Lough Clean, where it takes its rise, is 170 miles long. It widens into several deep and extensive lakes; and is swelled by the following tributary rivers, besides forty-five lesser streams: the Arigna, the Boyle, the Carnadoe, the Cloonort, the Camlin, the Inny, the Suck, the Great Brosna, the Little Brosna; the Rossmore, the Fergus, the Black-water, the Maig, the Oilmill, the Atkeaton, the Ballylongford, the Fuoras, the Leitrim, the Killucan, the Washpool, the Fallen, the Fuscus, the Ovan, the Cloonastra, the Newer, the Ballyshruil, the Ahur, the Killmastulla, the Groody, the Mulkerna, and the Assullas; in all 76. Of these, seven, viz. the Camlin, Inny, Suck, Carnadoe, the great and little Brosna, and the Boyle, washing the

Lee, Kerry,	Moy,	Owennerrive,	Shannon,
Liffey,	Moyalla,	Oilmill,	Slaney,
Mahon,	Munree,	Phenix,	Suir,
Maig,	Nanny-water,	Reel,	Swilly,
Malahide-river,	Newport-river,	Roe,	Swords-river,
Mang,	Nore,	Roughty,	Tay.
L. Melvin-river,	Ovoca,	Roaring-water,	
Middleton-river,	Owna,	Screeb,	

inland countries of Roscommon, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's County, might be rendered fit for the purpose of internal navigation at an easy expence, according to the report of an experienced engineer, Mr. Jessop, made in 1794, to the directors of the grand canal.

Besides these seven rivers, thus pointed out, as having fair claims on the public purse, there are several others of the foregoing ones which, if due encouragement be given to the internal trade of Ireland, seem likely to afford great profits to skilful and liberal undertakers. A communication might be opened between Limerick and Sligo, by the Shannon, at no great expence; as Lough Clean, from which that river flows, is but four miles from the river Bonnet, which carries boats into Lough Gilly, and thence to Sligo.

But there is another consideration which gives the river Shannon a high degree of pre-eminence above those few rivers which may be compared with it in length and width, that of its flowing, and receiving other navigable rivers which flow through the most fertile counties in Ireland, through some of the richest districts that are any where to be found.

The northern part of the county of Kerry and the southern part of that of Clare, which lie contiguous to the Shannon, and very considerable parts of the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Roscommon, and Galway, which are washed by that river, and its tributary streams, are of unrivalled fertility. The baronies of Owna and Arra, and lower Ormond, in the county of Tipperary, and the land near the bay of Scarriff, in the county of Clare, produce the best and earliest grain of all parts in Ireland.

If conveniency of water-carriage and fruitfulness of soil conduce to the increase of commercial opulence, the district, through which this noble river flows, ought to exhibit as striking evidences of accumulated wealth as any other district of equal magnitude in the world. But alas! the nature of the policy long pursued in Ireland has hitherto rendered these and other advantages of little avail.

The course of the Shannon from Lough Allen to Banagher is southerly; from thence to Limerick, south-south west; and from thence to the sea westerly.

The river next entitled to consideration is the Barrow. Its direction is due south; and for about twenty-five miles it runs nearly parallel with the Shannon; from whence it is distant about thirty-eight miles, the measurement

urement being taken from Athy, on the former, to Banagher on the latter. It is perfectly navigable for the space of sixty-eight miles from the tower of Hook, on the coast of Wexford, to the town of Athy, in the county of Carlow; and waters the fertile counties of Carlow, Wexford, and Kilkenny. It has the river Slaney on the east, from the navigable part whereof at Enniscorthy it is distant sixteen miles, and on the south-west it has the river Nore, from whence it is distant nine miles.

The river Suir, the course of which from Clonmel to the sea is nearly east, separates the rich county of Tipperary and that of Kilkenny from the county of Waterford. It unites its water with those of the Barrow and the Nore; and the confluent rivers are soon lost in the sea. From its navigable part at Clonmel to that of the river Blackwater at Cappelquin, which lies to the south-south-west of the former, the distance is only seventeen miles; and from Carrick between Clonmel and Waterford to the river Nore at Kilkenny, lying nearly north, the distance is twenty-two miles; and from within three miles of Cashel, where the Suir is still a respectable river, to the Shannon near Limerick the distance is twenty-five miles only. It is navigable for forty-three miles from the entrance of Waterford harbour to Clonmel.

The river Nore, which takes a south-easterly course flows nearly through the middle of the county of Kilkenny; and unites with the Barrow near the town of Ross, and with the Suir a few miles lower down. It is navigable to Bennet's-bridge, distant from the tower of Hook forty-one miles.

The river Blackwater, which passes through the western part of the county of Waterford, and washes a great tract of uncommonly rich land in the northern baronies of the county of Cork, flows towards the sea in an easterly direction until it reaches Cappelquin; from thence it proceeds in a southerly one. From the town of Mallow, situated thereon, to the town of Askeaton, the river whereof falls into the Shannon within two miles from the town, the distance is thirty-four miles; and from Mallow to Adair situated on the river Maig, which flows through one of the richest districts in the world, and falls into the Shannon, the distance is less than thirty miles in a northerly direction. The river Blackwater is already navigable to Cappelquin, distant from the sea fifteen miles; and, according to an estimate presented to the House of Commons shortly before the Union, might be rendered navigable to the
coal

coal-pits near Kanturk, distant from Cappoquin forty-three miles, for the sum of 50,000l.

No estimate of the expences likely to be incurred in forming the canal from the river Maig to the Blackwater, which was in contemplation in the early part of the last century, has to the writer's knowledge been as yet made. If the work were to cost near half a million, which is utterly impossible, it certainly would be well worth the money; as in the event of its being completed, and the Blackwater rendered navigable to Mallow, there would be a continued navigation throughout the most fertile and productive parts of Ireland, from Youghal to Limerick, thence to Dublin, thence to Waterford and thence, by sea, for a few miles, to Youghal: a circuit, exclusive of the sea, of upwards of three hundred miles, besides the connected navigation from Banagher on the Shannon, to the coal and iron ground at Arigna near the source of that river, and also the navigation of the rivers which flow into the Shannon. This, if considered in all respects, would be perhaps the most valuable work of internal navigation in Europe. The supplies which, by means of it, might be drawn to the ports of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, and Youghal, would be incalculably great; and the industry of these great towns would be proportionately stimulated by the growing demands of the thriving inhabitants of a vast tract of fertile country.

The river Slaney which runs nearly south from Tullow in the county of Carlow, through the middle of that of Wexford, and where navigable at Enniscorthy, is but 16 miles from the river Barrow, is 38 miles in length from the town first mentioned to Wexford, and navigable about 13 miles from the sea.

The Cusshin, which flows through one of the richest parts of the county of Kerry, receiving the rivers Geale and Feale, takes a north-west direction, and falls into the Shannon's mouth. It is navigable 10 miles.

The noble river Bann which runs north, almost in a strait line from Lough-Neagh to the sea, separating the counties of Derry and Antrim, is 28 miles long, between the Lough and Colerain; it might be rendered navigable from Portglenone bridge to Colerain about 19 miles, according to Mr. Whaley's estimate, for 15,300l. 17s. 6d. It is distant about 30 miles from another noble river the Foyle, which runs nearly parallel with it. On the other side of the Lough its kindred river the south

fouth Bann, flowing in a southerly direction through the county of Armagh, joins the Newry canal, and thus opens a communication between Lough-Neagh in the midst of four countries, and the harbour of Carlingford, affording, with the aid of the Lagan, to the populous, industrious, and wealthy county of Down, all the benefits of internal navigation.

The broad river Foyle, from its confluence with the rivers Finn and Mourne to its entrance into the Lough, which bears its name and constitutes the harbour of Londonderry, is 20 miles long, and in most parts, upwards of half a mile broad. It flows from Strabane, in a north-east direction, through the counties of Tyrone, Donegal and Londonderry; and is distant but seven miles from that singularly capacious harbour Lough-Swilly, with the south-east extremity, of which it runs parallel about 13 miles. It is navigable for lighters of 50 tons burden from Londonderry to Lifford, about 19 miles, and for boats of 14 tons to Castletfin, about six miles farther.

The Guibarra, in the county of Donegal, takes a south-west direction, is distant about six miles from the river Swilly which loses itself in the Lough of the same name, and is broad and deep for the space of 15 miles. The river Moy, which receives some of its water from the great lake called Lough-Conn, separates the counties of Mayo and Sligo, both of which, in the neighbourhood of the river, are extremely fertile. It runs northward into Killala bay, the distance between which and the southern extremity of the lake is about 16 miles. It is navigable for vessels of 50 tons burden from the sea to Killala, and for smaller vessels about nine miles up the country.

To open a communication between Killala and Galway, by means of this and other rivers, was one of the practicable projects of those who were employed to survey the navigable rivers of Ireland in the early part of the last century; and certainly, if carried into effect, would have proved a most important addition to the internal navigations of this country.

The river Boyne flowing through the rich county of Meath, and washing the southern limb of the fruitful county of Louth, winds through the former in a north-east direction, and with its canal is navigable from its embouchure to Navan, a space of 21 miles. It approaches within 15 miles of lake Deryvragh, from which by the river Inny, easily

easily made navigable, there is a communication with the Shannon.

The river Lagan, flowing in a north-east direction between the counties of Down and Antrim, is, with its canal, navigable about twenty-two miles from Belfast to Lough Neagh; and, together with the Newry canal, the Bann, the Blackwater, which is navigable about ten miles, and the lake, may be said to render the navigation of the north-east part of Ireland complete.

The river Bandon, in the county of Cork, winds in a south-east direction, and falls into the sea at Kinsale. It is navigable from the harbour's mouth for thirteen miles, and is distant only thirty-five miles from Mallow, on the Blackwater, before described.

The Swilly also is a considerable river, flowing into the lough of the same name, and distant from the nearest part of the Foyle ten miles, and from the Guibarra seven.

The river Earne, with its double lake, might easily be rendered capable of affording the vast benefits of internal navigation to considerable districts in the north-western and inland counties. The communication between the lake and the sea is actually undertaken.

The river Lung, in the county of Mayo, flowing into Lough Gara, is navigable about ten miles; and a very trifling expenditure would complete the navigation into the Shannon, and thus open a tract of extremely rich country.

The river Suck, flowing through a very fertile country, is navigable from the Shannon to Ballinasloe; and might easily be rendered so many miles farther.

There are several other navigable rivers in Ireland, such as those before-mentioned, which flow into the Shannon, the Awinbuy, or Carrigoline river, in the county of Cork, the Middleton river in the same county, &c. &c. which actually conduce, or may be rendered greatly conducive, to the extension of agriculture and internal trade; but it seems unnecessary to describe them here. The foregoing ones, flowing in all directions through the country, through the richest, and it may be added, the most beautiful parts of it, in most instances at no great distance from each other; and, moreover, falling into such harbours as those of Belfast, Lough Swilly, Carlingford, Waterford, Londonderry, Wexford, Youghal, Kinsale, the Shannon,

Shannon, and Killala, are evidently sufficient to facilitate, in almost every part of Ireland, the enjoyment of the utmost benefits that an industrious people can hope to derive from internal and external commerce.

So numerous are the rivers of Ireland, in proportion to its size, and so abundant the supply of water, that we may safely say, almost every parish might enjoy the benefits of internal navigation, at an expence which, one place with another, many a company of British undertakers would disregard; and that very few parts of Ireland, comparatively speaking, would be found ineligible for the establishment of manufactures through a deficiency of water, or the want of water-carriage. Of 248 mills for grinding corn, erected in Ireland between the years 1758 and 1790, every one, as far as the writer can learn, is turned by water. Windmills are in no country less common, or less necessary, than in this.

In respect of navigable rivers, as well as relative situation and harbours, Ireland certainly has the advantage of England. If the best eighteen rivers in the latter be duly compared, in every particular, with those which have just been imperfectly described, the inferiority of the English rivers, upon the whole, will be clearly perceived. The Thames, the Severn, the Humber, the Medway, the Dee, the Mersey, the Lon, the Orwell, the Yare, and the Ribble, have, all of them, sand-banks at their entrance, which, except in the instance of the Slaney *, is not the case with any of the Irish rivers; and which render the navigations, in those important parts, intricate, and, in some instances, dangerous †. Their streams are not, for the most part, near so copious, nor do they flow through such extremely fertile land as the rivers of Ireland. The Tweed, Tyne, Tees, Were, Wye, and Avon are, no doubt, fine rivers; but in several respects they will be found to fall short of a considerable number of those of which Ireland can boast.

* There are two sand-banks at the entrance of Wexford harbour, into which the Slaney flows; but the channel between them is half a mile broad, and only one mile and a quarter long. The bar at Youghal is not of such a nature as to render the Blackwater a second exception.

† The Ouse, Derwent, and Air, which fall into the Humber, are obviously included in this remark.

too, that many other practicable navigations, such as that from Dublin to Tarmonbury on the Shannon, which is actually in progress, and complete as far as Coolnahay, five miles beyond Mullingar, or upwards of 58 miles* ; that which was, a few years ago, in the contemplation of the Boyne navigation company, from Lough-Neagh to Dublin; that which might easily be made from the grand canal to the port of Arklow, or rather into the Slaney, and so to Wexford; that which might be carried, at a moderate expense, through the richest parts of the county of Monaghan, from Lough Earne to Lough Neagh, thus opening a second and most valuable communication between the eastern and western seas; and several others, which may be seen in the map, are not included herein.

There appears then to be sufficient ground for affirming, that almost every part of Ireland might be rendered capable of enjoying the various incalculable benefits necessarily resulting from an easy and general communication of all the differently gifted parts of an extensive country with each other: and this too, at an expense demonstrably far below the value of the works.

But when this great national advantage was presented to public view, by those who were capable of ascertaining it, Ireland was a mere land of pasture, thinly peopled, and poor. Private individuals had neither means, nor inducements sufficient to engage in the works proposed; and the government was neither competent, consistently with its prescribed expenses, nor, perhaps, in reality, willing to prosecute and complete them.

In our time, some of them have been executed. The completion of the remainder would confessedly contribute, in a signal manner, to the welfare of the empire: and three millions of money, faithfully and skilfully expended, would probably be more than sufficient for the purpose.

The lakes of Ireland which discharge their superfluous waters immediately into the sea, may also be considered, with reference to the benefits of commerce, as extremely important advantages. Of this description, are Loughs Neagh, Earne, Corrib, Conn, Nallenroe, Melvin, Arrow, Lilly, Rapharn and Furrán, Ballinahinch Lough, the Lake of Killarney or Lough Lane, and several others of inferior note. Of these, the most dif-

* The reader will remember that English miles and acres are always meant, when these measures are not otherwise specified:

tinguished are the double lake called Lough Erne, Lough Neagh, and Lough Corrib. The first, situated in the county of Fermanagh, covers 123,611 acres of land, and communicates with the Atlantic Ocean at the harbour of Ballyshannon, distant about eight miles from the lake. The second, comprising 94,274 acres, is situated in the midst of the counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone and Armagh; and forms the fine river Bann by the discharge of its redundant water into the sea, from which it is distant about 30 miles in that direction, and about 22 from the port of Belfast by the Lagan navigation. The third, in the county of Galway, spreads its waters over 50,700 acres, and disembogues its surplus into the bay, from whence it is but three miles distant. Besides the lakes already mentioned, there are several considerable ones in the interior of the country, particularly in the counties of Cavan and Westmeath, which might be rendered useful in prosecuting a more diversified internal trade than has hitherto been carried on in Ireland.

Roads.—With the internal and most valuable trade of a country in view, its roads deserve consideration immediately after its navigable rivers and canals.

If agriculture, which Montesquieu justly calls an immense manufacture, be chiefly regarded, and if it be moreover considered that a part of the wealth necessarily resulting from a spirited and extensive pursuit thereof, is most likely to be employed, with a view to a further increase, in improving the communication between the different parts of a country by means of canals, the vast importance of good roads will be abundantly manifest.

In respect of materials for the construction of smooth and durable roads, no country in the world can be more happily circumstanced than Ireland. With the exception of four or five counties, lime-stone, which is one of the best materials, is found in most districts in the greatest abundance; as is also, with the same exception, that incomparable material, lime-stone gravel. Roads properly repaired with these materials, ought, though much frequented, to last at least ten years. The writer knows, by experience, that they may be made to last fifteen.

The expense of repairing worn-out roads in different parts of Ireland, one with another, ought certainly not to exceed six shillings the Irish perch

perch of 24 feet. In the counties of Roscommon, Donegal, Westmeath, Queen's county, Kildare and others taken together, the average price ought not, and if the writer be well informed, does not exceed five shillings. In other counties it is seven, in some more. In the extensive county of Cork, which constitutes about one-eleventh part of Ireland, and in the different baronies whereof the wages of day labourers and the materials for roads, especially the latter, are considerably different, the average charge, by the perch, as deduced by the writer from the charges in 128 presentments on the several baronies, is 5s. 10d. In the county of Westmeath, the average charge, as deduced from 79 presentments, is 5s. 2d. In the county of Meath, as deduced from 120, it is 6s. 9d. the average of all which is 5s. 11d. In very many places, in other counties, lime-stone gravel lies in hillocks or pits contiguous to the road; and requires little more labour than spreading. In the county of Kildare where the wages of day-labourers are higher than those before mentioned, the roads may be repaired for four shillings the perch, though the gravel be at the distance of half a mile*.

Supposing, then, the average expense of repairing worn-out roads, throughout Ireland, to be six shillings the perch, the repair of a mile of road amounts to 96l. or as the road, if the work be fairly executed, should last for ten years, to 9l. 12s. per annum. But if the roads were constantly attended to, as the turnpike roads in England, through necessity are, the expense would be infinitely less †. As the practice is at present in Ireland, 25,000 miles of road may be kept in good condition by an annual expenditure of 240,000l. And as the length of Ireland,

* See the statistical survey of that county.

† Among the presentments at Lent assizes, 1807, on the county of Meath, there are two for keeping 19,681 perches, or 51½ miles of road in repair for eight-pence per perch per annum, which is 10l. 13s. 4d. per mile. If repaired at 6s. 9d. per perch every 10 years, which is the average charge in the county, the cost would be at the rate of 10l. 16s. per annum, or only 2s. 8d. more. But eight-pence per perch seems an extravagant charge. Among the presentments of the county of Cork at the last Lent assizes, there is one for keeping in repair 16 miles of road at sixpence per perch, per annum, which is but eight pounds per mile. If repaired every 10 years at 5s. 10d. per perch, which is the average charge in the county, the expense would be at the rate of 9l. 6s. 8d. per annum, or 1l. 6s. 8d. more. Even this seems too high. A similar reduction of expense, however, throughout Ireland, would probably save upwards of 30,000l. a year.

from

from north-east to south-west, taken on an average of three different lines, is 226 Irish miles, and the breadth, taken on a similar average, 107, the number of miles before mentioned, viz. 25,000, would, after allowing 12 in every hundred for windings, give 60 roads, exclusive of turnpike roads, running nearly parallel from the north-east to the south-west coast, at no greater distance from each other than two miles, and 120 roads intersecting the former, and running nearly parallel from the south-east to the north-west coast, at about three miles distant from each other. In which case the roads would be, and indeed actually are, sufficiently numerous.

About 30 years ago, when Mr. Arthur Young travelled through Ireland, he was greatly surprized at the vast superiority of the Irish roads over those of England. "For a country," says he, "so far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start of us in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly *." "I could trace a rout upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and every where find beautiful roads without break or hindrance to enable me to realize my design. †"

Since that gentleman visited Ireland, the roads have become much more numerous; and are, in general, in better condition. Sandy soils, so frequent in other countries, and which render the roads so heavy, unless the great expence of paving them be incurred, are nowhere to be met with in Ireland, except in a very few places near the coast.

In the early part of the last century, the Irish roads, now for the most part in such high order, were in a wretched condition, notwithstanding the convenience and abundance of materials for making and repairing them †. The occupiers of land in each parish were obliged by law to furnish, for these purposes, horses and carriages for six days in each week, and the peasants were obliged to labour for the same space of time.

* Tour vol. 2. p. 56.

† Ib. p. 57.

‡ Mr. Brown, in a tract on the benefits arising from navigable rivers, published in Dublin in 1728, says, "the whole inland carriage of the country is performed by small feeble cattle either in *high loads* which scarcely exceed two cwt. or on truckle cars, on which, in summer time, when the roads are dry and the cattle strong, a horse may draw about four cwt.; but in other seasons of the year, there is little or no land carriage; for these little machines would be swallowed up in bad roads." He adds, "that the business of land carriage must be hurried on in one quarter of the year." p. 4.

When

When this proved insufficient, the grand juries were empowered to raise whatever money might afterwards be found requisite to complete the work. But this compulsory labour, as might have been expected, became gradually ineffectual; and the money raised by the grand juries was very frequently misapplied. On the part of the legislature very little appears to have been done for a vast many years. In the reign of King William III. there was not a single road act passed; in that of Anne only two; and in that of George I. none.

In and before the reign of Queen Anne, it had been customary to raise money, for the purposes before mentioned, at the quarter sessions, as well as at the assizes; and the justices of the peace had the power of confirming presentments. Much money, however, having been raised contrary to law, and much of that which was legally raised having been misapplied, as the 4 A. c. 6. recites, it was enacted by that statute, that no presentment should be made by grand-juries for other purposes than were allowed by the laws; and that every grand juror who should present any money to be raised should sign his name; and that every judge of assize, justice of the peace, or sheriff confirming a presentment, should sign his name to the order for confirmation thereof; otherwise the presentment to be void; and that no greater sum than 20*l.* should be raised, at any quarter sessions, except for taking or killing tories, robbers, or rapparees.

A misuse of the public money, however, still prevailing, it was enacted by 6 G. I. c. 10, that no money should be raised for roads or bridges, unless two credible persons should swear that the work was necessary; it was also enacted, that the overseers should account on oath.

In order to guard against the effects of an influence, which was likely to be more effectually exerted at the quarter sessions than at the assizes, it was enacted by the 1 G. II. c. 13, that no money should be raised for making or repairing roads, or building bridges, &c. but at the latter; and it was also enacted that all new roads should be 30 feet broad; and that roads to be repaired should be paved or gravelled to the width of 12 feet.

The custom of mending the roads by means of compulsory labour, and which had prevailed from the reign of James I. having become extremely inefficacious, through the negligence and partiality of the overseers,
and

and the natural reluctance of the persons compelled to work, or to furnish the necessary carriages and cattle, it was abolished by the 33 G. II. c. 7. By this statute also, the grand juries were empowered to present money, on the different baronies, for the repair of their respective roads, though such repair should require a greater sum than 10l. : a power which had become necessary, as the money raised on the different counties had frequently, through the influence of persons exercising subaltern patronage therein, been applied to the improvement of certain parts of the counties, in which their estates or mansions were situated, to the neglect of others. By this statute it was also enacted, that old roads should be widened to 21 feet in the clear; that no presentment should be granted for the repair of any such being less than 21 feet wide; and that no new road should be less than 30 feet wide, with 14 feet of gravel or stones.

From the year in which this act passed, viz. 1759, the condition of the Irish bye-roads has been progressively improving, and their number annually increasing. So that at present, in proportion to its size, there are few countries which have so many, and not one perhaps which has so good roads as Ireland.

By the 11 & 12 G. III. c. 20. grand juries were empowered to grant presentments for narrow roads through mountainous or unimproved parts; and by the 17 & 18 G. III. c. 22. they were empowered to contract for keeping roads in repair, and to present money for maps and surveys of counties. Precautions were also taken, in these and subsequent acts, against the practice of jobbing, which has ever prevailed, in a peculiar degree, in Ireland; and from which no assembly, authorized to raise money on the subject, from the House of Commons to the vestry, has been exempt*.

* Even among the charitable institutions the practice of jobbing has been conspicuous. In proof of this assertion, numberless facts might be adduced; one will suffice for the present. The expense per head of maintaining paupers, in the House of Industry, in Dublin, under the old corporation, was 8l. 6s. : under the new corporation, appointed in 1797, when provisions had become dearer, the expense was only 5l. 4s. 11d. the consequent annual saving, on 1,718 paupers, was 5,247l. 1s. 2d. which therefore may be considered as the annual amount of diversified jobbing, before the expenditure of the grants, for the institution in question, was properly inquired into.

The reader must here permit a short digression, for the purpose of making a few necessary observations, connected rather with this, than any other part of the work.

Several persons have been in the habit of exclaiming against the magnitude of the sum annually raised, by grand juries, on the people of Ireland; and which actually amounts to upwards of four times the sum levied, on the land, 110 years ago, by 10 W. III. c. 3., for the support of the government. But if a fair comparative view be taken of the conditions and interests of those who generally compose the grand juries, and the conditions and interests of those who compose a higher assembly, the ground of objecting to the present extensive exercise of the powers with which the former are vested, will appear to want sufficient strength. The mode of their appointment is, no doubt, theoretically much less becoming, with reference to the power of raising money on the subject, than that of the great constitutional guardians of the public purse. But, in point of fact, as much perhaps may be urged against the mode in which a majority of the latter are elected, as against that of appointing the former. And as to the application of the money raised by these, thus much may be said in its behalf, that no expenditure of public money has, as yet, been more strictly combined with the personal or private interests of individuals, than that which is raised for making and repairing roads and bridges; and, accordingly, that no money, granted for public works, has, of late, been, upon the whole, more faithfully expended and accounted for.

The practice of jobbing, it will, on the one hand, be freely admitted, still continues to the scandal of some counties; but it must be confessed, on the other, by those who have been made acquainted with the customs which were prevalent anterior to the present reign, that that infamous practice is neither near so striking, nor near so frequent as it formerly was.

In order to gratify individuals, whose influence may be concerned in the appointment of grand juries, money is sometimes raised for making roads and bridges in places but little frequented, except by such individuals themselves or their tenants and neighbours. The interest, however, of these individuals secures the faithful expenditure of the money raised for their gratification; and excellent roads and bridges are in
confe-

consequence made; and, in process of time, as agriculture extends and people increase, become of as great public utility as any others. Presentments are likewise often, through mistaken notions of friendship, on the part of grand jurors, granted to country gentlemen who seek them with no other view than that of giving profitable employment to their inferior tenants and labourers; and who both shamefully and inconsiderately connive at a hasty and defective execution of the public work. But instances of downright jobbing, or rather peculation, such as applying to private purposes the money granted for public works, do not, to the writer's knowledge, occur; and if they do, may easily be detected and prevented.

The interest indeed of every landlord stands in direct opposition to such abominable peculation as this, or to any sort of jobbing. And the landlords of Ireland have, in general, necessarily become much more vigilant with regard to their interest, as connected, in the articles of bridges and roads, with the interests of their tenants, than when their country was a mere land of pasture. Increased vigilance, however, has become indispensably requisite. The sums, actually levied by presentments, press most heavily upon the farmers; the interest therefore of their landlords obviously and imperiously requires that such sums be faithfully applied, and with the fullest effect.

As for the turnpike roads of Ireland, which, by the way, are infinitely less numerous, in proportion, than those of England, they are, for the greater part, still inferior to the others; but, in consequence of the establishment of mail coaches, much better, in general, than they were a few years ago.

When Mr. Young was in Ireland, in the years 1776-7-8-9, he learnt, and his information on most subjects is extremely correct, that the money annually raised, by grand juries, for roads, bridges, jails, &c. amounted to 140,000*l.*, or about 2*½*d. per Irish acre. According to the returns presented to parliament, it amounted, in the following years, to the annexed sums*.

1803

* According to the returns presented to parliament, there was raised, by the grand juries of the counties of Antrim, Carlow, Cork, Down, Kerry, Louth, Tipperary, and Wicklow,

			£.	s.	d.
1803.	-	-	390,998	11	10
1804.	-	-	407,413	1	7
1805.	-	-	465,263	18	10
1806.	-	-	487,188	12	11

But these sums are under the truth, as no returns of the money raised in the counties of Galway, Sligo, and Wexford, in all these * years, appear among the others. If 3d. per acre be allowed for the first, 6d. for the second, and 1s. for the third, which will be found on examination to be a suitable allowance †, the sum raised in the year 1806. will turn out to be 522,887l. 18s. 9d.; and the general average about 10½d. per Irish acre; or near four times as much as it was 30 years ago: a strong evidence, if others were wanting, of the rapid improvement of Ireland, since the rights thereof were seasonably and spiritedly asserted.

It must be observed, however, that the wages of labour have risen greatly in Ireland, during the last 30 years; much more than they did during the preceding 30; and, by the way, more than in England gene-

Wicklow, in 1777, 44,008l. 3s. 9d. for roads, bridges, &c. If these eight counties constituted one fourth part of Ireland, this would afford ground for computing that the total sum raised was 176,032l. 15s. But as they appear to contain 884,748 acres more than a fourth part, the sum raised sufficiently establishes the accuracy of Mr. Young's information. Of the former sum 29,397l. 5s. 1½d. was raised for making and repairing roads; which is not far from being proportionate to the sum computed to be actually applied to that purpose.

The returns of the money raised by the grand juries, and transmitted by the several county treasurers, antecedently to the year 1806, are so defective and dissimilar, that no satisfactory deduction can be made from them. The writer has not seen the returns of the four years ended with 1806, in the Commons' Journals; but has taken them as they appeared in the different public newspapers, among which he observed no variation in the figures. In truth it has become a very difficult matter for gentlemen, residing in Ireland, to obtain such information respecting their country, as the latest Journals of parliament afford; the greater part of the members leaving these documents in London.

* The sum raised on the county of Wexford, in 1802, was 14,284l. 16s. 11d., on Galway 16,265l. 19s. 3d., and on Sligo, in the summer assizes of 1802, and lent assizes 1803, 7,202l. 17s. 5½d.

† The sum raised per acre on the county of Mayo has been applied to that of Galway; The sum raised on Roscommon to Sligo; and that on Waterford to Wexford.

rally

rally speaking *, in the same period of time, or indeed in any period of equal extent, subsequent to the middle of the 17th century. In seven different districts, in the counties, of Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, Mr. Young found the average daily wages of labourers, throughout the year, to be 6½d., and those of masons and carpenters 1s. 5½d. The actual average wages of the former, in these three counties, according to returns made to the writer by the Roman Catholic parochial clergy, is near 10¼d., and of the latter, 2s. 9½d.† The average daily wages of labourers, throughout all Ireland, Mr. Young found to be 6½d. The actual average in 15 counties, whereof statistical surveys have been published, appears to exceed 10d.; and with this rise, that of the wages of country-artificers has been commensurate; another unequivocal proof of the increased opulence of Ireland †.

But after making due allowance for this great and well authenticated increase of wages, and for some additional demands on the counties still it appears that the public works, annually undertaken for the improvement of the country, are at present twice as numerous or extensive as they were 30 years ago.

The following sums are the greatest that were raised on the several counties, in any one year, within the period of four years, ending with 1806:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
3d, Antrim	24,540	9	8	4th, Kerry	16,306	3	1
3d, Armagh	17,819	19	0	4th, Kildare	11,318	3	7
2d, Carlow	6,309	17	8½	2d, Kilkenny	13,531	2	8
4th, Cavan	14,495	17	3	4th, King's County	10,969	2	8
4th, Clare	23,441	18	7	3d, Leitrim	7,704	2	9
3d, Cork	48,108	15	11	4th, Limerick	21,574	4	4
4th, Donegal	25,922	17	6	4th, Londonderry	18,954	5	9
4th, Down	21,872	11	6	1st, Longford	6,843	10	4
1st, Dublin	10,369	8	0	2d, Louth	9,693	10	2
4th, Farmanagh	7,760	10	0	4th, Mayo	14,295	15	2

* The price of labour in England, when Mr. Young made his tour through it, was 7s. 6d. per week; 20 years after, he found it 8s. 5d.

† See Appendix, Nos. XIX. XX. XXI.

‡ "The liberal reward of labour," says Dr. Adam Smith, "as it is the necessary effect, so it is the natural symptom of increasing national wealth." *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 74.

3d, Meath	-	-	25,139	4	1	4th, Tyrone	-	-	19,509	10	8
3d, Monaghan	-	-	11,328	10	8	3d, Waterford	-	-	13,770	8	7
4th, Queen's County			11,738	1	0	3d, Westmeath	-	-	11,627	0	0
1st, Roscommon	-	-	10,584	11	8	3d, Wicklow	-	-	7,889	13	6
4th, Tipperary	-	-	39,839	9	7						

The figures prefixed to the names of the counties denote the year of the period in which the greatest sum was raised.

In the county of Cork, the sums raised by the grand jury, in 10 years and a half, ending with spring assizes 1807., were as follows, viz.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.				
1797.	-	-	14,392	12	1	1803.	-	-	33,959	10	11½
1798.	-	-	18,797	8	2	1804.	-	-	34,655	13	10
1799.	-	-	23,369	8	5	1805.	-	-	48,108	15	11
1800.	-	-	25,968	6	9½	1806.	-	-	43,228	0	9
1801.	-	-	32,764	8	0			Spring assizes.			
1802.	-	-	35,994	2	8½	1807.	-	-	26,289	1	8

The annual expenses of the police establishment, included in the foregoing sum, were, in 1797, at 6l. per man, 960l.; from that year to 1801, at 12l. per man, 1920l.; afterwards at 10l. per man, 1600l.

Of the sum raised in 18 months, ended with spring assizes 1807, viz. 69,517l. 2s. 5d., the presentments, on the different baronies, for repairing and making roads, amounted to 38,493l. 17s. 4d.; which was 7,470l. 12s. 3d. more than for all other purposes. In the counties of Meath and Westmeath, the presentments on the baronies, in the year 1805, bore a much greater proportion to the county presentments than those in Cork.

If, in all the different counties, the presentments for roads bore the same proportion to those for all other purposes as in Cork, there must have been appropriated to the former purpose, 289,539l. 17s. 6d. out of the aggregate sum of 522,887l. 18s. 9d. before stated to have been raised by the several grand juries in the year 1806; and consequently there might have been repaired, at the average rate before mentioned of six shillings the perch, 2,500 miles of road, after leaving upwards of 1,500l. to each county, on an average, for making new roads. And of course, if the roads were repaired so as to last 10 years, the annual expenditure of the sum before mentioned, after a most ample deduction for new roads, would keep in repair 25,000 miles of road.

What

What part of the aggregate sum, raised by the different grand juries, is jobbed away, or negligently expended, it is not easy to conjecture. That a very considerable part is so, may be inferred from what has been said, and will not be denied. Those, however, who have witnessed the excellent condition of the roads in most districts, in Ireland, will no doubt readily lend an ear to the strong objections which might be urged against transferring, from the country-gentleman to any other quarter, the power of raising money, on the land, at least for the repair and construction of roads and bridges, the goodness and durability of which are evidently conducive to both their interest and convenience.

SECTION III.

Climate.—Minerals and Fossils.—Fishes.

Climate. THOSE who seek for more detailed information, respecting the climate of Ireland, than can be given in this work, consistently with its nature, are referred to Mr. Hamilton's ingenious memoir, on that subject, published among the transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*; to the observations of the celebrated Mr. Kirwan, which are also to be found among these transactions; and to Dr. Rutton's natural history of the county of Dublin.

Nature, it is true, has not bestowed, on Ireland, a climate fit for the culture of the vine, the olive, the lemon, or for that of several other of those articles which constitute important branches of trade in the more southern countries of Europe; but she certainly has not withheld, from Ireland, a climate highly favourable to health and longevity, to the labour of man, and to the production of such articles of food as deserve a place among the real necessaries of life.

In respect of mildness and equability, qualities of a very advantageous nature, the climate of Ireland is surpassed by very few, if by any other in Europe. At a time, when, in consequence of the unreclaimed and uncleared state of the country, the climate must necessarily have been inferior to what it now is, Giraldus Cambrensis spoke of it in the following terms: "Terra terrarum temperatissima, nec Cancris calor exæstians compellit ad umbras, nec ad focos Capricorni rigor invitat, aeris amœnitate temperique tempora fere cuncta tepescunt †." Its general mildness, indeed is such, that, except in the northern counties, the rich pastures, or those which have been fairly treated, exhibit, in the midst of winter, the most beautiful verdure imaginable, affording sustenance to cattle throughout the year. The rigours of the winter, which, together with the scantiness of natural manures, render the beast-house and foddering yard primary objects of the farmer's attention, in other countries, are seldom, and in few parts,

* Vol. vi.

† Topog. Hib. c. 25.

experienced in Ireland. And accordingly, there is not a country in Europe, north of the Alps, where places for the accommodation of cattle are so rarely to be found. To a want of capital among the farmers this circumstance has generally been ascribed; and to such want it is, no doubt, in some degree, ascribable. Had loss or injury of cattle, however, been the consequence of their exposure to the weather, it is certain that, in a country so much dependant on pasture as Ireland has been, proper places for their reception, during the winter, would have been every where made at the expence either of tenant or landlord. A very great proportion of the fat cattle sent to Waterford, Limerick, and Cork, are never housed. The cattle slaughtered in the market of Cork in the months of February and March, with the exception of those fattened at the distilleries, are, eight out of ten, fattened wholly on grass. The dairy cows in the province of Munster are never, through downright necessity, housed. In a part of the county of Kerry the people often leave their potatoes in the beds without additional covering during the winter; and they have been known to obtain two crops of corn from the same land within the year*.

The vigorous growth of arbutus and myrtle in several parts of the south of Ireland, and in elevated situations, sufficiently evinces the general mildness of the winters.

The intense frosts which so long interrupt the labours of the husbandman, and obstruct internal navigation in other countries, and the heavy snows which so long render the roads impassable, are but rarely and transiently experienced in Ireland. During the latter part of the year 1806, and the early part of 1807, there was only one slight fall of snow in the southern parts of the county of Cork, while there were very heavy and destructive ones in the same parallel of latitude in England †. On the 11th, 12th, and 13th of February 1808, the weather was uncommonly severe throughout the latter, but by no means so in the former. In England the snow, in many places, lay several feet deep: in the south of Ireland none fell, except on the tops of the mountains. The winter, however, of 1807,

* Young's Tour, vol. II. p. 127.

† "The late fall of snow has been so heavy in many districts, that the cattle in exposed situations have suffered very considerably. Of the great number of sheep in Borough Fen, near Stamford, only 600 could be dug out; the rest were buried in the snow. Many men and beasts also lost their lives. Upwards of 2000 sheep are said to have perished in Romney Marsh on Wednesday se'night." *Extract from the St. James's Chronicle, March 10th, 1807.*

and spring of 1808 were; at intervals, more severe in Ireland than during many years before.

The atmosphere of Ireland is certainly more humid than that of England; but, according to the observations which the writer has been in the habit of making in both countries, for several years, the rains are neither heavier nor more frequent in the former than in the latter*. It is to be observed

* The truth of this remark seems sufficiently confirmed by the following comparison: No. I. is the result of an account of rain kept, at the desire of the Dublin society, by Mr. Underwood, head gardener in the Botanic garden belonging to that society at Glasneven, and transcribed from his book by the writer. No. II. is extracted from different volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Society.

No. I.

RAIN-GUAGE at Glasneven near Dublin.				
YEARS.				
1803.	1804.	1805.	1806.	1807.
Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.
18 97	29 72	22 47	24 49	26 50

No. II.

RAIN-GUAGES in different Parts of England.				
Hampshire, by T. White, Esq.		Apartments of the Royal Society.		
	Inches. Parts.	Years.	Inches. Parts.	
Feb. 1763 to Jan. 1764	32 125	1793	17	128
1 Year from Jan. 1774	35 235	1794	18	464
1775	31 699			
Rutlandshire, by T. Baker, Esq.		Rutlandshire, by Mr. T. Lane.		
Years.	Inches. Parts.	Year.	Inches. Parts.	
1795	26 576	1798	22	082
1796	21 401			
Rutlandshire.		Hampshire.		Westmoreland.
		Selbourn.	Fyfield.	Kendal.
Year.	Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.	Inches. Parts.	Inches.
1792	29 402	48 56	32 84	83½

The

observed too, that the humidity of the Irish atmosphere proves by no means injurious to the health of the inhabitants: on the contrary, it being generally accompanied by an increased agitation of the air, they enjoy better health, during the prevalence of the wet winds which blow from the Atlantic ocean, than at other times.

The climate of Ireland, confessedly as favourable to the production of barley and oats as that of England †, has generally been considered otherwise with regard to wheat. This, however, with the exception of some of the northern counties, the writer can by no means admit, having seen as fine wheat produced in gentlemen's demesnes as could reasonably be desired.

The true immediate causes of the acknowledged general inferiority of the Irish to the English wheat, are, inattention, slovenliness, and want of skill on the part of the Irish farmers; and the remote cause appears to have been the granting an equal bounty on flour of all qualities, without distinction, brought to Dublin. This rendered the millers negligent, and consequently the farmers. The lower and more numerous class of the latter are seldom scrupulous with regard to the choice of seed; they rarely clean it sufficiently; they never weed their crops; they prepare their land very badly, and generally sow too late. The consequence of all this is, as might be expected, the inferiority alluded to, and which appears to be very great

The following Table is taken from the Statistical Survey of the County of * Londonderry.

Years.	Days.					
	Fair.	Showery.	Wet.	Snow.	Hail.	Frost.
1795	131	198	36	33	18	60
1796	148	169	49	18	26	38
1797	114	216	35	13	28	32
1798	126	207	32	14	22	29
1799	128	198	29	25	22	53
1800	136	207	22	20	17	49
1801	124	217	24	25	31	25
Averages	129	201	34	21	23	40

* Londonderry, it will be observed, is one of the most northern counties of Ireland.

† As appeared by the evidence of Alderman Warren before the Committee on the Scarcity of Provisions in 1800.

indeed. For, according to the evidence of Alderman Watfon, before the British Parliament in 1800, prime English wheat, weighing 33 stones the quarter, produces of army flour 26ft. 10lb.; middle-priced, weighing 32 stones, produces 25ft. 10lb.; and low-priced, weighing 31 stones four pounds, produces 24ft. 6lb. the average of which is, as to produce of flour, 25ft. 8lb. 10 $\frac{2}{7}$ oz. But according to the evidence of Mr. Jebb (proprietor of the Slaine mills), given before the Irish Parliament; the barrel of wheat, in Ireland, weighing 20 stones, produces no more than from 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 stones of flour, or 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ stones on an average, which is equal to no more than 23ft. 8lb. 6 $\frac{2}{7}$ oz. the quarter of 32 stones. Indeed in the act 30 G. III. c. 30. the average produce of flour from the Irish barrel of 20 stones is taken at 13 $\frac{1}{7}$ stones. Here is a striking display of inferiority on the part of the Irish wheat, in point of produce of flour.

Facts, however, are not wanting to prove, that, in cases where due attention has been paid to seed and culture, the Irish wheat is at least equal to that of England; and that the flour obtained from the generality of the former, in the event of care on the part of the miller, is not inferior to English flour. Wheat grown in the demesne of Coolmore, in the southern part of the county of Cork, in the year 1806, was found by the writer, under whose inspection it was weighed and ground, to produce 17ft. 6lb. of flour from the barrel of 20 stones; which is not much inferior to the produce of Dantzic wheat; the latter being, on an average, something more than 18 stones. Wheat of a different sort, grown in 1807, in the demesne of Barnahely in the neighbourhood of Coolmore, was found to produce 17ft. 2lbs. And English wheat, sown in 1807, in the demesne of Whitehall, situated in the south-western part of the same county, and about 30 miles from Coolmore, was found to produce grain superior in quality to the seed; and the fact was acknowledged by an English gentleman who gave the latter. Some of the northern baronies of the county of Cork have always been reckoned superior to the southern ones in the quality of their wheat. And the lands near the bay of Scariff in the county of Clare, and in the barony of upper Ormond in that of Tipperary, which is a central county, are said to be still superior to the former. The county of Kilkenny too, and others, are known to produce excellent wheat when the culture is properly attended to. The writer has seen flour manufactured at the mills of Slaine in the county of Meath,

at

at the mills of Fermoy in the county of Cork, and at Rockmills in the same county, built by the intelligent and patriotic Mr. Aldworth of Newmarket, rather with a view to public than private advantage, and also at several private mills, which might safely be compared with the finest flour manufactured in Europe. Indeed it appeared by the evidence of Mr. Jebb, that Irish flour sells as well as English in the West Indies.

Minerals and Fossils.—With regard to these, it is, as yet, far from being known how highly Ireland may rank among European nations. The successive discoveries of the last century, and the results of the occasional researches lately made, afford a sufficient ground for a strong persuasion, that, in addition to the mines and quarries actually open, many of extraordinary value may, by the application of suitable capitals and skill, be rendered eminently auxiliary to the augmentation of the wealth of Ireland, and raise it in point of subterranean riches to a very high degree of conspicuity in Europe.

There is not a county in Ireland which does not contain some valuable mineral or fossil; several of them, it is now ascertained, abound with treasures of this sort; and these, for the greater part, are most happily situated for the exportation of their products, either in a rude or manufactured state.

The following account, drawn from the statistical surveys of 17 counties, the writings of Dr. Smith, the specimens in the museum of the Dublin society, the communication of Mr. Donald Stewart, itinerant mineralogist of that society, and from the information of others, will serve, notwithstanding its deficiency, to give a sufficient view of the minerals and fossils of Ireland.

ARMAQH contains lead, ochres of different colours, and various beautiful marbles.

ANTRIM contains coal and gypsum in abundance, beautiful crystals, pebbles, and different sorts of ochres.

CARLOW contains granite, talk, marbles, crystals, and ochres.

CAVAN contains fine lead-ore, iron, coal, ochres; clays, fuller's-earth, sulphur, copper, silver, and jasper.

CLARE contains lead, copper, iron, coal, and beautiful spars like those of Derbyshire.

CORK

- CORK** contains lead, iron, copper, coal, fine slate, extremely beautiful marbles of a great variety of colours, petrifications, brown and yellow ochres, excellent potter's clay, and amethysts of great beauty.
- DONEGAL** contains rich lead-ore, immense quantities of different sorts of clays, coal, silicious sand, manganese, iron, beautiful granite, chalcodony, marble resembling that which is called statuary marble, and garnites.
- DOWN** contains iron, fuller's-earth, soap-stone, rich lead, marbles of different sorts, crystals, granite, copper, and very fine slate.
- DUBLIN** contains copper, lead, ochres of different colours, potter's clay, beautiful pebbles, crystals, and porphyry.
- FERMANAGH** contains rich iron-ore, and coal.
- GALWAY** contains rich lead, crystals, pearls, and marbles of superior beauty.
- KERRY** contains abundance of rich copper, lead, beautiful marbles of various combinations of colours, cobalt, crystals, pearls, and amethysts.
- KILDARE** contains marbles of different colours, which bear a higher polish than those brought from Italy.
- KILKENNY** contains iron, coal, ochres, pipe and potter's clay, marbles; (some of them singular and beautiful,) granite, and jasper.
- KING'S COUNTY** contains a silver mine near Edenderry; but not worked these 40 years.
- LEITRIM** contains inexhaustible stores of iron and coal, copper, blue, green, yellow, pale red, and crimson coloured clays, fuller's-earth, and garnites.
- LIMERICK** contains iron, copper, lead, coal, and fine slate.
- LONDONDERRY** contains iron, copper, lead, abundance of crystals, beautiful pebbles and petrifications found near Lough Neagh, granite, and handsome marbles.
- LONGFORD** contains great variety of marbles, ochres, lead, fine slate, extremely rich iron-ore, and jasper.
- LOUTH** contains ochres, and fuller's-earth.
- MAYO** contains abundance of iron-ore, ochres, granite, coal, slate of a superior quality, beautiful black marble without speck, and manganese.
- MEATH** contains ochres, and rich and abundant copper-ore,
- MONAGHAN**

MONAGHAN contains iron, lead, manganese, coal, marble, fuller's-earth and antimony.

QUEEN'S COUNTY contains iron, coal, copper, marble, ochres, fuller's-earth and potter's clay.

ROSCOMMON contains ochres, coal, iron, and marble exhibiting the petrified skeletons of different animals, and bearing a very high polish.

SLIGO contains iron, copper; lead, coal, fine clays, talk, silver, and, in abundance near the coast, a stone which bears a high polish, and is called serpent stone, from figures which it exhibits, resembling the skeletons of these animals.

TIPPERARY contains rich and abundant copper and lead mines, coal, silver, plenty of fine slate, clays, and the most beautiful marbles.

TYRONE contains iron, and plenty of good potter's clay.

WATERFORD contains copper in abundance, iron, ochres, handsome pebbles, and, near the harbour, a most beautiful green and black marble.

WESTMEATH contains copper, lead, coal, and handsome yellow and dove-coloured marbles.

WEXFORD contains lead, copper, iron, marble, ochres, and a blue earth.

WICKLOW contains crystals, sulphur, manganese, copper in abundance, granite *, lead, tin, and several other metallic substances, including gold.

By this account, incomplete as it is, Ireland appears to contain the following 30 different sorts of minerals and fossils: viz.

2 Amethysts.	2 Garnites.	4 Pebbles.
1 Antimony.	7 Granite.	2 Petrifications
15 Coal.	1 Gypsum.	1 Porphyry.
1 Cobalt.	19 Iron.	1 Silicious sand.
17 Copper.	2 Jasper.	3 Silver.
1 Chalcedony.	16 Lead.	6 Slate.
8 Crystals.	2 Manganese.	1 Soap stone.
9 Clays of various sorts.	19 Marble.	1 Spars.
5 Fuller's-earth.	15 Ochres.	2 Sulphur.
1 Gold.	2 Pearls.	2 Talk.

* Decayed granite used in the manufacture of porcelain.

The figures prefixed to the different minerals and fossils, denote the number of counties in which they have been discovered, according to the information obtained by the writer. That several of them are known by other persons to exist in many more parts of Ireland than here stated, he has no doubt.

The amethysts mentioned in this account, and which have been found in abundance near Kerryhead, and in the neighbourhood of the city of Cork *, are, many of them, very large; and in lustre and hue little inferior to any others. The pearls are found in Lough Corrib, in the county of Galway; and in the lake of Killarney in that of Kerry. An Irish pearl, weighing 36 carats and valued at 40l., is mentioned by Sir Robert Redding in the Philosophical Transactions. In the county of Donegal there was found one piece of chalcedony which weighed seven pounds and a half. The crystals found in the county of Londonderry weigh from one to 12 ounces. The pebbles found near Dungiven, in the same county, are extremely beautiful, great numbers of them are actually on sale in Dublin, and in much request. The Lough Neagh, pebbles differing from the former, are also much sought after. The petrifications found in that lake, and near a small spring in the neighbourhood of Doneraile, in the county of Cork, frequently exhibit a pleasing assemblage of colours, and bear the engraving tool as well as cornelians. The marbles found in the counties of Cork, Galway, Mayo, Kilkenny, Kildare, Tipperary, Kerry, Longford, Westmeath, and Waterford, are in general, as before noticed, uncommonly beautiful; many of them exhibit the most elegant diversity of colours; and some of them, in polish, surpass the finest Italian marbles. Those of the county of Kildare, but particularly the marble found at Ballyannon, part of the estate of the writer's much esteemed friend, Mr. Hyde, in the county of Cork, fully confirm the assertion. Gypsum, so valuable a material in the hands of the ornamental artist, and perhaps much more so as a manure, is found in great abundance in the county of Antrim. Beautiful crystals abound in many places. The silicious sand, employed in the glass manufactures, is found in great plenty in the Muckish moun-

* The rich amethyst quarry near Cork, owing to what cause the writer has not been satisfactorily informed, was stopped up several years ago, when producing these stones in abundance; and has not since been opened. It has been said that a chest of amethysts, belonging to the proprietor of the quarry, actually lies in one of the Dublin banks.

tains, in the county of Donegal, within four miles of Sheephaven, from whence it is exported. The flint stones, used in the Staffordshire potteries, according to the evidence of Mr. Wedgewood in 1785, are brought from Ireland: as is also, according to the evidence of Mr. Hurst, the kelp which is used as a principal ingredient in the English crown glass manufacture. The greater part of the coast from Sligo to Galway, a line of 150 miles, abounds with it. Its increased export may be seen in the Table No. 9. in the Appendix. The slates, mentioned in the foregoing account, are mostly equal to the finest imported from Wales. Those in the county of Mayo appear to be more approved of; as there has lately been a considerable demand for them from England: to which country the ochres and manganese of Mayo have also been exported.

The gold mine at Croghan, in the county of Wicklow, began to attract attention about the year 1795. According to a calculation made on the subject, the sum of 10,000*l.* was paid, at the rate of 3*l.* 15*s.* per ounce, to the country people, for the gold which they collected. Before government took possession of the mine, there was found one piece of gold which weighed 22 ounces, and which is believed to be the largest ever found in Europe. From the commencement of the works to June 1801, there were found 599 ounces of gold. That gold, sufficient to repay the expense of the works, will be hereafter found, is what very few people are so sanguine as to expect. But it seems extremely probable, that, in the pursuit of this metal, several rich veins of other metals will be disclosed; as there are sufficient indications of them in most parts of the neighbourhood.

The copper mines at Cronebane and Ballymurtagh, in the same county, are said to be actually very productive. The copper mine at Skerries, in the county of Dublin, is also well spoken of. The copper and lead mines at Lackamore and Doonally, in the county of Tipperary, are extremely rich; as is the lead mine on the estate of Lord Leitrim in the county of Donegal; and several others of the same kind. A very rich vein of copper ore has been discovered in the county of Meath, close to the river Boyne, and extending a mile. The valuable copper mine at Killarney, in the county of Kerry, which not long ago was almost despaired of, has become, especially since the erection of a steam engine, very productive. The vein is from 18 inches to three feet thick. It

yields, as the writer has been informed, between 50 and 60 tons of copper ore per week; and gives employment to 150 miners. The increased demand for labour, occasioned by this mine and its attendant works, has raised the price nearly one shilling per day, in the neighbourhood of Killarney, above the average price in the other parts of the country; it being 1s. 7½d. in the former, and 7½d. in the latter. This mine was formerly worked by a Bristol company, and then produced about 600 tons annually.

The following statement will shew the increased exportation of the surpluses of lead and copper ore:

	Lead Ore.	Copper Ore.
	Tons.	Tons.
Three years, ending 25th March 1783	6	151.
Three years, - - - 1793	401	2,344
Three years, ending 5th July 1808.	929	6,869*

Iron, which, if considered with reference to the effects of human labour and art, will appear not less valuable, and certainly is more useful than any other metal, is found, according to the foregoing account, in 19 counties out of 32; and probably exists in more. But a total want of timber †, and a defective supply of coal in the neighbourhoods of most of the places where the iron-stone and ore abound, render them actually of no avail. It is otherwise, however, with some places.

At Arigna, for instance, in the county of Leitrim, and province of Connaught, both iron-stone and coal are found in the greatest profusion.

Mr. Lawson, an English miner, stated in evidence before the Irish House of Commons, that the iron-stone at Arigna lay in beds of from three to twelve fathoms deep; and that it could be raised for two shillings and sixpence the ton, which is five shillings cheaper than in Cumberland; that the coal, in the neighbourhood, was better than any in England, and could be raised for three shillings and sixpence the ton; and that it extended

* Smaller quantities than one ton have been omitted.

† There is actually more timber cut down in Montgomeryshire, in Wales, than in all the counties of Ireland put together. In the year 1805, the writer observed several advertisements in the Salopian Journal, announcing the sale of 7,100 oaks, besides a much greater number of other trees, in different places in Montgomeryshire and Shropshire, but chiefly the former.

six miles in length and five in breadth. He also stated that fire-brick clay, and free-stone of the best qualities, were in the neighbourhood; and that a bed of potter's-clay extended there two miles in length, and one in breadth. Mr. Clarke, on the same occasion, declared that the iron-ore was inexhaustible. And our distinguished countryman, Mr. Kirwan, whose opinions on mineralogical subjects few will attempt to refute, affirmed that the Arigna iron was better than any iron made from any species of single ore in England. And here it may be proper to observe, that the situation of Arigna is perhaps the finest in the world for the establishment of the different manufactures of iron. It lies near the source of the noble river Shannon, navigable for the space of 170 miles; and which, with the aid of its principal tributary navigable rivers, the Inny, the Brosna, the Camlin, the Suck and others, with the aid also of the grand canal, already conducted to it, and that of the royal canal which approaches it, might convey the productions of the forge and workshop into almost all the interior parts of Ireland, and to several of its ports. It lies also in the neighbourhood of the river Bonnet, by which boats pass into Lough Gilly, and thence to the harbour of Sligo; from whence the manufactures of Arigna could, in a very short time, be transported to the numerous harbours on the north-west and north coasts; to Belfast on the north-east, and thence, by the Lagan, into Lough Neagh, situated in the midst of four counties. In short, it is impossible that any place can be more happily circumstanced than Arigna, in respect of transmitting the most cumbersome manufactures to home and foreign markets. And here it seems also proper to observe, that the counties which abound most in valuable minerals, are situated on the sea-coast, and enjoy, in most cases, the advantage of several excellent harbours. Kerry, Donegal, and Mayo, are particularly fortunate in this respect.

Fisheries.—Among the different natural advantages which may be employed in augmenting the wealth of a nation, a very distinguished place is certainly due to the fisheries in the neighbourhood of its coast, or in the mouths of its harbours and rivers: and, with reference to the important article of subsistence, its interior fisheries are equally worthy of notice.

In respect of these, as well as other advantages, the bounty of the Almighty to Ireland has been surprisingly great indeed. "The fishery of Ireland," says Sir William Temple, "might prove a mine under water,

as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of*." Mr. Young truly remarks, "that there is scarcely a part of Ireland but what is well situated for some fishery of consequence; and that her coasts and innumerable creeks and rivers' mouths are the resort of vast shoals of herrings, cod, ling, hake, mackarel, &c. which might with proper attention be converted into funds of wealth †." Mr. Daniel, in his Rural Sports, says, "the waters of Ireland abound in all that can invite an angler to their banks; perhaps they are better stored, and the fish contained in them of a size superior to those found elsewhere in the United Kingdom ‡."

In the year 1778, there were 383 vessels on the bounty. They caught 72,992 half barrels of herrings, 110,058 hake, 13,680 ling, and 33,538 cod. In 1779, there were 410 vessels employed; and 156,757 half barrels of herrings, 274,183 hake, 53,095 ling, and 80,085 cod, were taken §. In the year 1780, 130 bounty vessels were at the fishery in Lough Swilly. They expended, in the cure of fish, 1,708 tons of salt, which cured in bulk (allowing 30 maize or 15,000 herrings to one ton of salt) 51,240 maize. In the year 1781, the bounty vessels in the same Lough were 147; salt expended 1,914 tons; maize or barrels cured 57,420. In the same year 117 vessels from Liverpool and the Isle of Man purchased for their red-herring houses 49,950 maize of herrings, and paid 12,487l. 10s. ||

From the 14th of December 1782, to the 14th of February 1783, there were caught near the Rosses, off the coast of Donegal, 23,634,000 herrings, which were sold on the spot at five shillings per thousand ¶. Mr. Brice, in his report to the Committee on the Irish Fisheries, declared that as many herrings might have been caught off the Rosses in 1782 as would have loaded all the ships in England. He also stated that four men with lines caught 20 dozen of cod and hake in two hours. In the year 1783, there were employed in Lough Swilly 1,000 boats with four oars and a skipper each. The red-herring fishers paid, in one year, 47,000l. ††

In 1784, the herrings came upon the north-west coast about the last week in June, and continued until about the last week in September.

* Miscellaneous Works, vol. iii. p. 26.

† Vol. ii. p. 144.

‡ Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Trade, &c. of Ireland, pp. 118, 119.

§ Commons' Journals.

†† Ibid.

† Tour, vol. ii. p. 2. 186.

¶ Returns to Parliament.

There was, for a considerable part of that time, no other demand than from the country, and the take was so very great, and the demand so small, that incredible numbers were thrown away; and, upon an average price for a month, they did not exceed 10d. per thousand. They were boiled for oil, the price of which was 10d. per gallon, and was very good for lamps*.

In that year, there were 514 vessels engaged in the Irish fishery, giving employment to 3,723 men and boys†; which, by the way, was 457 more than all the fishermen and boatmen of Ireland in the year 1695, according to the accurate account of Captain South, then one of the commissioners of the Revenue.

On the night of the 12th of January 1785, the fishery off the coast was so great that 450 boats were loaded before the morning †

Since that year, the herring fishery of Ireland has greatly declined. These fish, however, still frequent its numerous harbours and rivers in months, in sufficient abundance to supply the demands of the people in the adjacent districts; and to furnish a small supply for foreign markets: and their return in their former shoals may be rationally expected. In fact they re-appeared and were taken, in great abundance, last winter off the western coast. The sprats still arrive in prodigious shoals. The writer has seen immense quantities of oil obtained from them at Kinfalee, and their remains employed in manuring land.

As for the cod, ling, and hake, they are in as great abundance as ever. The report of Captain Fraser in 1801, respecting the fishery on the Nymph Bank, off the South-eastern coast, represents it in an extremely favourable light. He considers it as superior to the fishery on the Dogger Bank §.

Plaice, sole, haddock, and turbot, abound on many parts of the coast. In some of the small towns on the west and south-west coasts, the fish may frequently be purchased for two and three shillings a piece. In the city of Cork, where the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as upwards of three to one, seated moreover in a very populous district chiefly inhabited by the former, whose fasts induce a greater demand for fish than

* Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 120.

† Trans. Dub. Soc. vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ Commons' Journals.

§ See Appendix, No. XVIII. XIX.

is the case in Protestant countries, the ordinary price of a good cod-fish, which would sell for at least sixpence per pound, or from 10s. to 12s. in England, is only two shillings; and the prices of all other fish are proportionately low.

The salmon fisheries of Ireland are, in proportion, infinitely more numerous and productive than those of any other country the natural history whereof has fallen into the writer's hands. In various parts of Ireland, remote from each other, he has seen from 10 to 30 fine salmon taken at one drag. Mr. Daniel states that 1,452 salmon were taken at one drag in the river Bann in the year 1780; and 882, in like manner, in the year 1788: that the salmon fishery there lets for 6,000l., and the eel fishery for 1,000l. a year.

The rivers Shannon, Suir, Blackwater, Boyne, Liffey, Lee, Earne, Elky, Moy, Lackah, Lane, Carra, Feale, the Newport river, that which flows from Lough Corrib into the sea, and several others abound with salmon, in general of a superior quality. The counties of Meath and Louth, of Antrim and Londonderry, of Limerick, Sligo, Tipperary and Waterford, vie with each other in the quality of their salmon. Those taken in the river Lee, which flows through Cork, are equally good at all seasons. The salmon fishery on the Blackwater lets for 600l. a year; and the different expenses attendant thereon amount to about 500l. more: that of the Boyne lets for 520l. a year: that of the Earne, as Mr. Daniel was informed, for 2,000l.; but as appears in the statistical survey of the county of Donegal, for 1,083l. The eel fishery there lets for 325l., and the salmon fisheries in the Newport and Burrishole rivers, and at Killery, let together for 210l.

The general price of the salmon at the Bann is 4d. per pound; at Ballyshannon in the Earne less; and during the last Lent, the Roman Catholic miners, employed at the copper mine near Killarney, paid but 2d. per pound, and were amply supplied. About 20 years ago, as the writer remembers, it was sold at the weir in the Awinbuy or Carrigoline river, near which he resided, and which is within seven miles of the populous city of Cork, for the same price.

Befides

The writer recollects that, when quartered in the county of Mayo, in the year 1779, the troops stationed at Balinrobe supplied themselves amply throughout the season with

Besides salmon, the rivers and lakes of Ireland contain a vast abundance of various other sorts of fish. The Shannon affords a profusion; immense pike, bream, and the gillaroo trout, which is found also in much greater abundance in Lough Corrib and Lough Mask. Charr is found in Lough Eske and other lakes; and plenty of lampreys in the Bann. Mr. Young, speaking of the prodigious quantity of fish in the lakes of the county of Westmeath, tells us, "that a child, with a crooked pin and packthread, will catch perch enough in an hour for the family to live upon the whole day *." Besides perch, there are bream, tench, trouts weighing 10lb., large pike, and fine eels in these lakes.

with salmon, taken in an ill-constructed weir which they formed in the river Robe, contiguous to their barrack. Salmon was then frequently sold in Sligo and Castlebar for one penny per pound.

* Vol. i. p. 67.

SECTION IV.

Land—Recapitulation.

Land. **T**HE subject of this section appears to have a just claim to a more ample consideration than any of those of the foregoing ones. The value of some of the more important of those, such, for instance, as harbours and rivers, does evidently, in a very great degree, depend, in most cases, on the nature of this; while its value, though no doubt greatly enhanced by the number, safety, and extent of these, is by no means absolutely dependent thereon. Safe and capacious harbours, and extensive navigable rivers, in a bleak, rugged, and barren country, avail but little, comparatively speaking, in the accumulation of national wealth. But as food will always purchase as much labour as it can maintain on the spot, and as labour is the true source of wealth, so a fertile country of moderate extent, though inconveniently circumstanced for trafficking with other countries, and even labouring, at first, under considerable disadvantages with regard to the internal transportation of its commodities, may yet attain a high degree of opulence. China is surprisingly populous and exceedingly rich; yet its trade with foreign nations is extremely trivial for such a vast country, and might, without any sensible injury, be wholly dispensed with. Its internal communications are, indeed, numerous in the extreme. It extends through many parallels of latitude, and produces a great diversity of commodities. But the canals and roads for which it is so celebrated, and which must necessarily have conducted in an eminent degree to the augmentation of its wealth, were probably rather the effect than the cause of that extensive and sedulous pursuit of agriculture, which, with the example of their Emperor before them, has ever distinguished the people of China; or, perhaps, as seems most likely, they were in part the cause and in part the effect thereof.

By various combinations of circumstances, people may be induced or impelled to settle in a sterile country, advantageously situated for foreign trade; and, by a successful exercise of their industry, may there accumulate
wealth,

wealth, and gradually employ its occasional redundancies, in rendering productive a considerable tract of land in the vicinity of their settlement. Such, to a certain degree, was the case of Genoa. But the quantity of productive land, thus obtained, being inadequate to the maintenance of an increasing number of consumers, they must necessarily depend on other countries for a full supply of food; and part with their acquired riches in proportion as that supply comes dear to their market. The accumulation, therefore, of wealth, in a country thus circumstanced, must needs be much more tardy than in a country favourably situated for foreign commerce, and possessing a soil sufficiently fertile to furnish, with ordinary labour, the requisite supply of food to its inhabitants.

The most natural progress of a people, in pursuit of wealth, is, when the first stage of that progress is agriculture; the second home manufactures; and the third foreign commerce; and such progress, as experience proves, is infinitely more rapid and more secure than when foreign commerce and manufactures are the primary concerns of an industrious people, and agriculture is regarded as an inferior expedient for the acquisition of wealth, and resorted to merely through necessity.

That admirable writer, Dr. Adam Smith, appears to have been duly impressed with the superior value of land, considered as a source of wealth. His observations thereon, as on most other subjects connected with the wealth of nations, are just, luminous, and comprehensive. "The land," says he, "constitutes by far the greatest, the most important and the most durable part of the wealth of every extensive country*." "Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, agriculture is by far the most advantageous to society †." "When the capital of a country is not sufficient for agriculture, manufactures, and foreign commerce, at once; in proportion as a greater share of it is employed in the first, the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts in motion within the country; as will likewise be the value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land, and labour of the society ‡." "The capital that is acquired to any country by commerce and manufactures, is a very precarious and uncertain possession, till some part of it has been secured and realized in the cultivation and improvement of its lands. A merchant, if

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 248. Dub. Ed. † Id. p. 362. ‡ Id. p. 364.

has been said very properly, is not necessarily the citizen of any particular country. It is in a great measure indifferent to him from what place he carries on his trade; and a very trifling disgust will make him remove his capital, and together with it all the industry which it supports, from one country to another. No part of it can be said to belong to any particular country, till it has been spread, as it were, over the face of that country, either in buildings, or in the lasting improvement of lands. No vestige now remains of the great wealth said to have been possessed by the greater part of the Hanse Towns, except in the obscure histories of the 13th and 14th centuries. It is even uncertain where some of them were situated, or to what towns in Europe the Latin names given to some of them belong. But though the misfortunes of Italy, in the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries, greatly diminished the commerce and manufactures of the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany, those countries still continue to be among the most populous and best cultivated in Europe. The civil wars in Flanders, and the Spanish government which succeeded them, chased away the great commerce of Ghent, Antwerp, and Bruges: but Flanders still continues to be one of the richest, best cultivated, and most populous provinces of Europe. The ordinary revolutions of war and government easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only. That which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations, continued for a century or two together; such as those that happened for some time before and after the fall of the Roman Empire in the western provinces of Europe.* ”

Men, like other animals, will multiply in proportion to their means of subsistence. Accordingly, in fertile countries, where the bounty of nature has not been counteracted by the political restraints or outrages of man, but rather seconded by wholesome and prudent institutions and regulations, the most dense populations are uniformly found. As men become crowded together, their natural and fictitious wants are multiplied; human ingenuity is sharpened; the various resources of the country are explored; communications are opened between its distant parts; an extensive market

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 418.

for the varied produce of industry is gradually formed ; labour is more subdivided ; and, in proportion as the surplus produce resulting from such subdivision is increased, so must the general wealth of the society.

If these remarks be well-founded, the value of fertile land, or that which is capable of being rendered so, with adequate profit to the undertaker, may justly be considered as superior to that of any other physical advantage which a country can enjoy, and perhaps equal to the united value of all others. It is to be observed, however, that without the means of exporting the redundant produce of the land, and without those of conveying it expeditiously and cheaply to distant parts of the country in which it is produced, the increase of national wealth, by the pursuit of agriculture, must necessarily be limited ; and an extensive country may, at one and the same time, enjoy a superabundance of food, and suffer under a scarcity thereof ; one district, favoured by the nature of the season, producing more than the consumption of its inhabitants requires, and another, injured thereby, producing much less.

A facility of disposing of a redundancy to advantage naturally induces the cultivators of the land to extend their operations, and to turn their thoughts to expedients likely to render these operations still more productive. On the contrary, an impossibility of conveying that redundancy to a distant market, with a prospect of reasonable profit, naturally prompts them to suit their supply to the home demand. But as this demand can scarcely increase in the same ratio as the productions of the land may be made to increase, so, in the way of augmenting national wealth, by additional gain to the farmer, additional hire to the labourer, additional rent to the landlord, and additional profit to the various classes of industrious people necessarily employed by these, a great portion of the valuable effects of human exertions must be precluded.

An acre of land, it is well known, may, by superior management, be rendered capable of producing three times its ordinary produce of wheat ; and consequently, the demand for that article continuing unabated, may be rendered three times more valuable to the tenant and the landlord. The substitution of maize for wheat, provided the demand be equal and continuous, renders the land still more valuable * ; and the substitution of pota-

* The produce of maize to wheat in France is as 38 to 26.

toes, in such event, still more so*. A much greater number of persons may be subsisted by a given portion of land, under potatoes, than under any sort of corn; consequently a greater command of labour is obtained by the former than by the latter: in other words, a greater increase of wealth is eventually effected. And as, by an improved method of cultivating that valuable root, an acre may be made to yield three times as much as its ordinary produce, so the land may be rendered capable of sustaining three times as many people, subsisting on potatoes; and of course be rendered three times as valuable. The number of people who might be supported by the potatoes, produced by a comparatively small number of acres, if the culture thereof were carried to its utmost perfection, is astonishingly great: 100,000 acres, English measure, would produce more than sufficient for 1,000,000 people †. But it seems perfectly unnecessary to speak more in detail on this subject; it being very generally admitted, that the increase of food, though in some rich countries it actually falls short of, may yet be made to surpass, the greatest probable increase of people.

A facility, then, of disposing of such possible surplus of food, is obviously an advantage of by no means secondary importance, with reference to an active and profitable pursuit of husbandry, and an ample and uniform supply to home consumers. But when it is considered that that surplus produce, as those of the forge and loom, serve to purchase such raw materials as the country may be physically incapable of producing; and also such foreign fabrics as may excite a spirit of manufacturing emulation, and direct the industry of a people into new channels, to the great augmentation of

* The produce of potatoes to wheat is as 10 to 1, or rather after making a fair deduction for the watery nature of the former, as about 6 to 1, in point of nutriment. A stone of potatoes will lose about one-twelfth by boiling. In the neighbourhood of Cork ten guineas are paid for an English acre of land to plant potatoes in; and those who pay it make considerable profit. For the same purpose two shillings are paid for a square perch, Irish measure, contiguous to the circular road near Dublin; which is at the rate of 16l. per Irish acre, or 9l. 17s. 6½d. per English acre.

† The average produce of potatoes throughout Ireland is about 50 barrels from the English acre. By Mr. Rawson's mode of culture, however, 196 barrels of the potatoe, called the red-nosed kidney, have been obtained from the Irish acre, which is equal to 121 from the English acre. (Statistical Survey of the County of Kildare.) The writer has known 19½ tons, or 156 barrels of rather an inferior sort of potatoe, called Meldrum, obtained from one acre, English measure.

national wealth, a facility of disposing of it will appear to be an advantage of primary consequence. The indigo and cotton of the western world, and the porcelain and muslins of the eastern, have, in different ways, greatly conduced to the increase of British wealth; and one-half of the valuable and necessary imports of Ireland are returns for the surplus food she exports.

It has already been sufficiently shewn, in the foregoing sections, that Ireland possesses, in an eminent degree, the different natural advantages which are requisite to the external and internal vent of those various superfluities which successively result from the increasing industry of man. In this section, it is proposed to shew, that the land of Ireland is not only competent to sustain an increasing number of those by whose subdivided labour such superfluities are produced; but also to add greatly to the general mass or aggregate of exportable commodities, and to give immediate and eventual employment to millions*.

Sir William Petty in his *Political Anatomy*, published in the year 1672, computed that Ireland contained 10,500,000 acres, Irish plantation measure; which, according to the proportion of 121 to 196, the Irish perch being 21 and the English 16½ feet, are equal to 17,008,264 acres English measure. These he divided as follows:

Lakes, rivers, rocks, highways, impassable bogs and shrubs	}	Irish.	English.
		1,500,000 or	2,429,752
Very coarse land, commonly called unprofitable,		1,500,000	— 2,429,752
Good meadow, arable and pasture		7,500,000	— 12,148,760

Dr. Beaufort, in his memoir of a map of Ireland, states its contents at 12,001,200 Irish plantation acres, which are equal to 19,439,960 English. Other modes of computing the contents of Ireland, such as that employed by Dr. Grewe, in the case of England, would swell their amount far beyond Dr. Beaufort's numbers. I shall, however, proceed upon the

* "La culture des terres (says Montesquieu) devient pour les hommes, une immense manufacture." *L'Esprit des Loix*, tom. iii. c. 14. "The most numerous class of artificers (says Adam Smith) will seldom, in a large country, make more than one in fifty, or one in a hundred of the whole number of families contained in it; but in such large countries as France and England, the number of people employed in agriculture, has by some authors been computed at a half, by others at a third, and by no author that I know of, at less than a fifth of the whole inhabitants of a country." *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 198.

number of acres stated by him; which, though probably short of the truth, many local surveys have proved to be much nearer to it than that of Sir William Petty.

Of the foregoing number of acres, viz. 19,439,960,	
The three great lakes, Lough Neagh, Lough Corrib, and Lough Earne comprise	Acres. 268,585
The other lakes may contain about	150,000
The river Shannon, about	76,800
The other rivers, which are numerous in Ireland, about	192,000
35,000 miles of road of all sorts, public and private, at 20 feet wide, on an average	83,200
Towns, sites of houses, yards, pleasure-gardens, &c. &c.	96,000
The ten richest counties may contain of utterly irreclaim- able land	32,000
The ten next, in point of fertility	96,000
The twelve poorest, at 25 square miles on an average each	192,000
Total number of acres, inapplicable to the sustenance of man	1,185,585

Of land unreclaimed, and in a comparatively unproductive state, there may be in the counties of Galway and Mayo, containing 2,884,196 acres, about 1,700 square miles, or	Acres. 1,088,000
In those of Donegal and Kerry, containing 2,140,843 acres, about 1,600 square miles, or	*1,024,000
In those of Clare, Leitrim, and Sligo, containing 1,586,304 acres, 1,200 square miles, or	768,000
In those of Cork, Wicklow, and Waterford, containing 2,629,315 acres, about 900 square miles, or	576,000
Carried over,	3,456,000

* In the Statistical Survey of the County of Donegal, it is stated, that, according to the survey of Mr. Hanlon, the waste land of that county comprises 721,200 acres. There being, however, only 679,550 Irish acres in the whole county, according to Dr. Beaufort, who was furnished with a modern survey of it, I presume that the printer fell into some error with regard to the figures, in the former work.

Brought

	Acres.
Brought forward,	3,456,000
In those of Londonderry, Cavan, Tyrone, Roscommon, and Down, containing 2,880,714 acres, about 900 square miles, or - - - - -	} 576,000
In those of Fermanagh, Antrim, Armagh, King's, and Queen's Counties, containing 2,218,525 acres, about 600 square miles, or - - - - -	} 384,000
And in the remaining 12 counties there may be about 600 square miles, or - - - - -	} 384,000
Making altogether of unreclaimed, and comparatively un- productive land - - - - -	} <u>4,800,000</u>
Which, being added to that portion of the area of Ireland which is inapplicable to the sustenance of man, makes a total of - - - - -	} 5,985,585
Leaving of fertile land - - - - -	13,454,375

Or 494,403 acres above two-thirds of the whole; or 1,305,615 acres more of fertile land than computed by Sir William Petty. And there is abundant reason for believing that that number, at least, has been added to the good arable, meadow and pasture of Ireland since 1672. Indeed if we advert to the vast and well authenticated increase of people in the course of the last century *, and to the great augmentation of the quantity of provisions of all sorts exported, which may be seen in the tables No. IV., and No. VI., in the Appendix, we shall feel persuaded that Sir William Petty exaggerated on the subject of the productive land.

It is true that the more numerous classes, in the Irish community, subsist chiefly on that species of food which requires for its production a much less quantity of land than any other species of food made use of in Europe. Still, however, the maintenance and exigencies of a population, which appears to exceed five millions †, seem to demand rather a greater than a smaller number of acres of productive land than that before stated; especially as a considerable deduction must be made therefrom on account of the land employed in furnishing the provisions exported; and a due allow-

* See No. XVI. XVII. in the Appendix.

† See Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude of the Population of Ireland.

ance made for the comparatively scanty produce of the remainder, in consequence of the extremely defective husbandry which distinguishes the cultivators of the Irish soil.

The actual proportion of fertile to waste land in Ireland, if the foregoing distribution approximate the truth, is nearly the same as in England in 1696, according to Mr. Gregory King; who computed that the heaths, moors, mountains, and barren land of England and Wales comprised 10,000,000 acres; the rivers, lakes, meres, and ponds, 500,000; the roads, ways, and waste land, 500,000; the gardens, orchards, churchyards, churches, and houses, 1,000,000; the forests, parks, and commons, 3,000,000; the woods and coppices, 3,000,000; and the arable and pasture 21,000,000; in all 39,000,000.

But this proportion, contrary to the opinion of Mr. Arthur Young, who however, seldom errs, is very much inferior to the present proportion of fertile to waste land in England. For, according to the statement of the Committee of Agriculture, which it may be presumed was made after diligent and accurate inquiry, the cultivated land of England and Wales comprises 39,027,156 acres, and the uncultivated land only 7,888,777 acres, making together 46,915,933; which, it may be observed by the way, is 7,915,933 acres more than computed by Mr. King. Since the year 1778, when Mr. Young gave it as his opinion, that there was more waste land in proportion in England than in Ireland, agriculture has, no doubt, been greatly extended in the former. From the accession of His present Majesty to the year 1800, no fewer than 2,804,197 acres appear to have been inclosed. But facts are not wanting to prove that agriculture has been extended in Ireland since that year, in an unprecedented manner*, apparently much more so than in England. Admitting, therefore, that the statement of the Committee was correct, either the opinion of Mr. Young must be considered as hasty†, or the cultivated land of Ireland must actually bear an infinitely greater proportion to its uncultivated land than the writer has computed. But that the truth has not been much exceeded, in the case of the uncultivated land, will readily be vouched by those who

* Compare Tables marked IV., VI., in the Appendix.

† His account of the proportion of waste land, in several of the counties, is confessedly grounded on the mere accidental opinion of others.

have surveyed the counties of Donegal, Mayo, Kerry, and Galway, with much more accuracy than Mr. Young could have done; and might be shewn, if necessary, by the citation of passages from the statistical accounts of the more improved counties.

That Ireland surpasses France, in the proportion of her cultivated land, is sufficiently confirmed by the concurrent statements of Mr. Young and others, who have made the soil of the latter a subject of their researches. Mr. Young's distribution of the land of France is as follows: viz.

	Acres.
Arable and Lucerne - -	75,000,000
Meadows - - - -	4,000,000
Vines - - - -	5,000,000
Total of cultivated land - -	<u>84,000,000</u>
Woods - - - -	19,850,000
Wastes - - - -	<u>27,150,000</u>
Total of uncultivated land - -	47,000,000 acres, or upwards of one-third of the whole.

But computations of this sort, induced by the want of actual surveys discriminating accurately between the waste and fertile land of a country, and the computations of Sir William Petty and Mr. King are expressly included in the remark, are by no means to be implicitly relied on; being, in general, grounded on mere personal observations, which are extremely fallacious; or on local descriptions and reports, which are often vague and incorrect; or on the consumption of the products of the earth, which, even in the rare event of the population being exactly ascertained, cannot be accurately discovered. As to the foregoing distribution of the land of Ireland, the reader has already been apprized of its disclaiming a pretension to strict accuracy. The pains however which have been taken to arrive at truth, and the information derived from various quarters, have been such as to enable the writer to say thus much, at least, that it approaches sufficiently near the truth to fortify all reasonings relative to the land of Ireland.

Between the unreclaimed land of Ireland, consisting of mountains and bogs, and that of almost all other countries, there are three essential points
of

of difference deserving particular attention. A vast proportion of the unreclaimed land of other countries is almost utterly unproductive, or completely sterile; a vast proportion of the unreclaimed land of Ireland is undoubtedly the contrary. In other countries, the operation of reclaiming requires considerable skill; and in most instances is attended with immense expense. In Ireland, where nature is rather to be assisted than overcome, it requires but little skill; and the attendant expense, if viewed in conjunction with the future permanent profit, is scarcely sufficient to deter the most timid speculator. In most other countries, the natural means of fertilizing such land as has been prepared by an expensive process for the plough, are extremely scanty: in Ireland they are almost every where found in the greatest abundance and perfection. It is to be observed too, that Ireland, as before noticed, surpasses most other countries in the means of transporting the produce of its soil to distant parts; a circumstance eminently favourable to the progress of cultivation in waste and thinly peopled districts. To this circumstance, and also to the abundance of natural manures, may be ascribed, for instance, the cultivation of the waste land in the neighbourhood of Clew-bay, and that in the county of Sligo; and to this also must hereafter be ascribed the transmutation of the extensive bog of Allen into rich pasture.

In most of the mountainous districts of Ireland, 5000 acres will be found to yield more and better food for cattle than 100,000 in many parts of Scotland or Wales. The Irish mountains are entirely different from those of the countries just mentioned. Herbage of some sort or other grows on the very summits of some of the loftiest in Ireland; but in Scotland and for the most part in Wales, cattle stray from their pasture as they ascend the mountain's brow. The peculiar tendency of the Irish soil to graze is such, that the mountainous land yields good sustenance to prodigious droves of young cattle. In the summer of 1805, the writer saw cattle on the mountains which lie in the south-east part of the county of Limerick, in such good condition, without a single exception, as to be almost fit for the slaughter-house. In the mountainous barony of Mourne, in the county of Down, great numbers of horses are bred. The baronies of Rossclogher and Drumahair, in the county of Leitrim, which are nearly covered with mountains, send forth immense droves of young cattle. Flocks of sheep find pasture in the mountainous districts of the county of Donegal. The mountains

mountains near the sea in the county of Sligo are covered with sheep. In the wild and remote barony of Erris, in the county of Mayo; great numbers of cattle are reared. The mountains of Galway also contribute considerably to the great fair which is held at Ballinasloe, in that county; and in which there is annually exhibited for sale, one year with another, at least fourscore thousand sheep, and near 10,000 horned cattle*. Those of the county of Clare support considerable numbers, as does the mountainous and heathy barony of Duhallow, in the county of Cork. Between the baronies of Muskerry and Barrets, in the same county, there is a great tract of bog, on which vast numbers of cattle are fed in summer. The mountain called Slieve Bloom, in the King's county, affords excellent pasture to young cattle. Young cattle are likewise reared on the mountains of the county of Kerry in great numbers, where, moreover, a vast many swine, according to the report of Mr. Young, are well fattened by the tormentile root which abounds there †. "On M'Gillicuddy's reeks," says that gentleman, "which is the wildest and most desolate region in Kerry, sheep are fattened better than on the low-lands ‡." Great numbers of cattle are also reared in the mountainous parts of the counties of Tipperary and Waterford §.

In fact the mountains of Ireland are the principal nurseries for those immense herds of bullocks and cows which are fattened or fed on the luxuriant low-lands; and almost the only nurseries for those which are annually exported to England, and of which the number in four years, ending 5th January 1804, amounted to 106,578, worth, according to the prices current in that year, 1,044,464*l*. The number exported in two years, ending 5th January 1808, was 54,115 ¶.

The bogs of Ireland, which cover a vast deal more of its surface than its mountains, differ exceedingly, according to the observations of Mr. Young, from the boggy, moory, and fenny lands of England, with regard to facility of reclaiming, and still more so in point of subsequent value.

* See table No. 6 in the Appendix. † Vol. ii. p. 87. ‡ Vol. ii. p. 119.

§ In most parts of Ireland, when the land is neglected, there springs up an abundance of furze (*Ulex Europæus*), one acre of which, as the writer has been credibly informed, is found sufficient, in the western part of the county of Cork, to maintain three horses during the winter.

¶ See table No. 6 in the Appendix.

The draining of the latter is often attended with enormous expense, which in very few instances is the case with the former. They are frequently found elevated above the level of the circumjacent country, and in general there is, from some part or other of each, a sufficient declivity to admit of a complete discharge of their collected waters. Some of them are situated on the tops or sides of mountains, and might be rendered perfectly dry and fit for cultivation with but very little labour. The great bog of Allen, which, in detached masses, pervades the county of Kildare, the King's and Queen's counties, and skirts that of Westmeath, and was said, when Mr. Young wrote, to contain 300,000 acres, is far above the level of the sea, and gives rise to several rivers, into which its stagnant water might be easily conducted, and which might, at little expense, be employed in improving it. The Rye takes its rise in the bog of Cappagh. From Boyle in the county of Roscommon, to Ballymoate in that of Sligo, there is a great bog which was reported, when Mr. Young travelled through it, to contain 22,400 acres. Of this bog, he says, "nothing would be easier than to drain it, vast tracts of land have such a fall that not a drop of water could remain:" and then exclaims, "what an immense field for improvement *!" Between Killarney and Nedeem, in the county of Kerry, there is a great tract of mountainous bog, which the same gentleman said was the most improveable of any he had seen †. In the same county, between Killarney and Castleisland, there is a vast bog, which, he says, may also easily be improved, it being almost dry ‡. The smaller bogs of Ireland are in general at least as advantageously circumstanced as these. The whole, collectively taken, constitute a most copious source of future wealth; being for the most part convertible into the richest possible meadow and pasture. "No meadows," says Mr. Young, "are equal to those gained by improving a bog; they are of a value which scarce any other lands rise to §."

To reclaim a very considerable part of the mountains of Ireland, and to render many of them almost as fertile as the low-lands, ploughing or paring, and the superinduction of manure are all that is requisite. "The mountains in the county of Antrim," says Mr. Young, "consist of exceeding good loam, and such as would improve into good meadow ||." The sides

* Vol. i. p. 310.

† Vol. ii. p. 90.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 121.

§ Vol. ii. part 2. p. 74.

|| Vol. i. p. 210.

of several mountains in the county of Fermanagh are of good dry limestone *. Great tracts of mountain in the county of Mayo are capable of the greatest improvement †. Considerable tracts of the mountains near the northern boundary of the county of Cork, which a few years ago produced nothing but heath, are actually covered with corn and potatoes, and appear almost as fertile as the low-lands. The mountains and bogs in the county of Antrim, and in many other places, have undergone the same change; as also some of the mountains in the county of Waterford. "Although," says Mr. Young, "the proportion of waste territory is not, I apprehend, so great in Ireland as it is in England, yet are the tracts of desert mountains and bogs very considerable. *Upon these lands is to be practised the most profitable husbandry in the king's dominions ‡.*" In his Farmer's Calendar he alludes to mountain tracts in Ireland, containing from 20,000 to 30,000 acres, of which three-fourths might be irrigated.

That the remark just quoted was well founded, there has already been afforded some reason for believing, when notice was taken of the facility with which the bogs, composing the greatest portion of the waste land of Ireland, might be drained. But the circumstances which corroborate it completely, still remain to be considered; namely, the abundance of natural manures which are to be found either in or near the greater part of those places where their agency is chiefly required, and the inconsiderable expence likely to be incurred by resorting to them.

The bog of Allen, like most others in Ireland, lies, generally speaking, on a stratum of limestone-gravel, the effects whereof in fertilizing land are, as will presently be more fully noticed, amazingly great. If proportionately to the extent of this bog and that of the Bedford level, stretching through the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, one half, or one quarter of the money which was expended on the latter, were appropriated to the draining and manuring of the former, it would speedily attain a place among the more luxuriant pastures of Ireland; and far surpass the greater part of those of which England boasts. The roads through this bog are made of limestone-gravel, obtained from beneath it; and their verges are covered with white clover, the ordinary herbage produced by that incomparable manure. In the great bog before noticed, which

* Vol. i. p. 277.

† Vol. i. p. 357.

‡ Tour, vol. ii. part 2. p. 69.

lies between Boyle and Ballymoate, there is plenty of limestone, and in many parts of it, limestone-gravel *. In another great bog on the borders of the county of Longford, both of these manures are every where found †. In the bogs and mountains of Sligo also, limestone and limestone-gravel abound ‡. In the mountains of Fermanagh limestone is to be had in plenty §. In the mountainous part of Mayo limestone-gravel is at hand ¶. Such also is the case in the boggy parts of Leitrim ||.

Thus far Mr. Young. The authors of the seventeen different statistical surveys, lately published, speak of the condition and circumstances of the waste land, wherever found, in the same terms as that gentleman. In that of Londonderry, it is observed, that the waste lands are for the greater part very reclaimable; that rich marles of different colours are found there, as also a soft and oily lime, which may be dug with a spade; and that great quantities of shells, excellent manure, are found near the coast, and drawn several miles up the country. In that of Monaghan it is observed, that the waste land there is also very reclaimable; that reclaimed moor has been raised from nothing to 5l. per acre rent; that there is found there an incomparable manure called decayed limestone; and that there is limestone and abundance of marle in the mountains. In that of Mayo it is stated, that the waste land is every where reclaimable; limestone-gravel almost every where found, and in many places marle. In that of the King's county it is observed, that the bogs have every where a fall; that limestone-gravel abounds; and that one crop will pay the expence of improving with it. In that of Leitrim it is stated, that limestone and limestone-gravel are every where, as also marles of different sorts. In short, that the county abounds with natural manures.

In that of Donegal it is observed, that most of the mountains are improvable, being intersected with limestone rock; that limestone-gravel is found in the mountains, and abounds from Donegal to Killybegs; and that shelly sand is found in plenty off the coast. Decomposed limestone, an incomparable manure, is also found in the mountains of Donegal. In that of Tyrone it is stated, that the wastes are reclaiming fast by means of limestone and gravel. In that of the Queen's county it is affirmed, that lime-

* Young's Tour, vol. i. p. 310. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 298. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 340.
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 277. ¶ Ibid. vol. i. p. 344-355. || Ibid. vol. i. p. 180.

stone and gravel are every where; and that the finest meadows are obtained from bog. In that of Wicklow it is asserted, that at one side of a hedge the land was not worth sixpence an acre, but that at the other it afforded pasture to bullocks worth twenty guineas a-piece, in consequence of being improved by limestone-gravel. In that of Cavan it is observed, that most parts of the waste land, especially the bogs, are very reclaimable; and yield the sweetest herbage. In that of Sligo and others, Mr. Young's observations are most fully confirmed.

The expense of fertilizing bogs and mountains by means of limestone-gravel and marle, and also the subsequent profit, at the time when Mr. Young visited Ireland, appear in a multitude of passages in his account of his tour. To cite these passages here would be equally tedious to the reader, and unnecessary; it being sufficient to refer him to them, and to observe, that the average expense was about thirty shillings per acre; being in some places so high as three pounds, but in very many so low as nineteen shillings; and that the rent of the land was thereby at least quadrupled in all instances; in many, raised from nothing to one pound; in some, from sixpence to thirty shillings, and even to forty*.

If

* The following is an account of the expense and profit of reclaiming and improving 640 acres of heathy mountain in the county of Mayo, enclosed in 64 divisions of 10 acres each, drawn up by Mr. Young on the information obtained from lord Altamont:

	£.	s.	d.
Two miles of road	100	0	0
5760 perches of wall	1442	10	0
40 iron gates	200	0	0
Sanding with limestone sand	984	0	0
Three years' interest of 1000l. to begin with, at 6. per cent.	180	0	0
10 farm-houses, &c.	500	0	0
	1406	10	0
Profit by potatoes	1280	0	0
Do. by 3 crops of oats	3840	0	0
	5120	0	0
Deduct 7 years' interest at 6 per cent. on 3400l.	1428	0	0
Neat profit	3692	0	0
Original expence	3406	10	0
Profit	285	10	0

let,

If the average annual value of rough and uncultivated land, in the year 1778, be taken so high as five shillings per acre, the average expense of fertilizing it with limestone-gravel at thirty shillings, the average increase of annual value at ten shillings, and the average duration of the efficacy of the manure at six years, the profit was then 33l. 6s. 8d. per cent. during that period. But if the annual value of mountain and bog be taken at sixpence, the rise at twenty shillings, and the expense at thirty, the profit was 66l. 13s. 4d. per cent. for six years. Well, therefore, might Mr. Young affirm, that on the waste lands of Ireland might be practised the most profitable husbandry in the king's dominions.

Since he wrote, the wages of rural labour, and consequently the expense of improving waste land, have increased greatly; but the value of land has increased in a much greater degree*. The present, therefore, seems still more alluring than the past prospect of gain.

A skilful expenditure of nine millions of money on the best circumstanced parts of the unreclaimed land of Ireland would, beyond all doubt, add, at least, three millions to its permanent rental, and thereby much more than compensate for the annual remittances to absentees.

Such an expenditure, moreover, would unquestionably enable Ireland to supply, most amply, the growing wants of England, after satisfying those of her own rapidly increasing population. If even the amount of the difference between the military expenses of Ireland, in the year ended in March 1794, after the war had begun, and those in the year ended in March 1800, and which was no less than 3,986,304l. †, had been thus applied, the last beneficial effect at least would have resulted therefrom. The quantity of corn, of all sorts, imported into England, on an average of three years, ended in January 1799, was 247,000 tons, valued at 2,714,406l. 3s. 4d. Of this the corn imported annually from Ireland was worth 435,003l. But had even one-eighth part of its waste land been perfectly reclaimed, though even defectively managed, as at present, the whole supply required by the former, and more too, might easily have been furnished by the latter; and

let, on an average, at 15 shillings per acre, which is what lord Altmont is clear is the lowest price it can be reckoned at, it is per annum 480l. An income of 480l. is created without expence." Vol. i. p. 357-8-9.

* See the tables marked 19, 20, 22, in the Appendix.

† See table marked 14 in the Appendix.

the money employed in the purchase of it would, after fertilizing the land of Ireland, have speedily flowed back, through different channels, to England. Paradoxical as it may be thought by some, it might be shewn, without much ingenuity, that the general wealth of England would be eventually much less diminished by purchasing whatever supplies of corn she might have occasion for from Ireland, than from foreign countries, though she were to pay 30 per cent more to the former than to the latter.

The internal communication of the different parts of Ireland, it is true, is as yet very far from being so perfect as it might be; the possible produce, however, of at least one-eighth of its uncultivated land, might actually be exported to England, or transported at little expense from one part of Ireland to another.

Hitherto, the valuable and abundant natural manures of Ireland have been considered merely with reference to their efficacy in improving bog and mountain. There is, however, another very important respect in which they remain to be viewed; namely, the advantage which they afford, by their agency in meliorating or recovering such lands as have long since ceased to be in a state of nature.

In those parts of most countries which are remote from large towns, the cultivation of a farm, owing to a deficiency of good natural manures, must, in general, be proportionate to the stock of cattle kept thereon. But in Ireland, where such manures almost every where abound, the dung of cattle is not indispensably requisite to the progress of agriculture; and accordingly, much less attention is paid to its collection than is observable in other countries. Labour and skill alone will render the lands of Ireland fertile in the extreme; but the labour and skill of man require, in most other countries, an additional agent for producing this effect. Mr. Young tells us, that on the coast of Mayo, where sea and other manures are in plenty, "the common people let their dunghills accumulate till they become such a nuisance that they remove their cabins to get rid of them*." He says likewise, and the fact is well known, that the dung of the city of Limerick was generally thrown into the river Shannon. He also took occasion to remark, that, in several parts of Ire-

* Vol. i. p 362.

* L

land the farmers burnt their straw; and that a foddering yard was rarely to be seen.

With the exception of the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Tyrone and Antrim, limestone is found, in the greatest abundance, in every county in Ireland, as is also, with the exception of a few counties, that incomparable manure limestone-gravel. White, grey and blue marles, of the best quality, are likewise found in most of the counties, and compensate, in some of them, especially in Wexford, for a deficiency of lime.

In almost every page of the account which the experienced farmer and diligent inquirer, just mentioned, has given of his tour in Ireland, the extraordinary effects of these manures are related. To quote the different passages of which they are the subjects, seems quite unnecessary. It will suffice to say, on his authority, fully confirmed by the testimony of others, that the effects of limestone-gravel, when properly managed, in fertilizing land, are, in almost every part of Ireland, very great, in many, astonishingly so; and that the worse the land manured thereby, the greater the effect produced: that it lasts from five to seven years; and that its effects are visible from ten to fifteen: that it is found in the greater part of those places where its agency is most requisite; that it kills heath, changes the nature of moors, and brings white clover in abundance on rough lands and bogs: that the three sorts of marle, before mentioned, are found either under clay, in the river Shannon, or under bogs; which last is generally the case: and that their effects are, in several cases, not much inferior to those of limestone-gravel.

These manures were not generally known 20 years before Mr. Young wrote; nor was the management of them, especially the marle, then understood, nor is it indeed even at present. In the county of Longford, he tells us, that neither lime nor marle were used, though on the spot*; that in the King's county, neither lime nor limestone-gravel were used, though both were in plenty†; and that in the county of Sligo, where there is an amazing quantity of limestone, none was burnt for manure‡.

That the Irish should neglect, or be ignorant of the value of these manures, about the middle of the last century, or 20 years before Mr. Young wrote, can afford, however, but little matter of surprize; the

* Vol. i. p. 295.

† Vol. i. p. 219.

‡ Vol. i. p. 331.

tillage of Ireland being then, comparatively speaking, exceedingly circumscribed.

But it is somewhat surprising that their mismanagement of these manures, and the land which they apply them to, should still continue. The effects of this mismanagement, especially with respect to limestone-gravel, are strikingly visible in every county where it abounds. The soil, in very many places, appears to have been considerably injured, rather than benefited by it. After gravelling their land, they sometimes take 10 or 12 crops of grain off it, without the intervention of a single lay crop; and then recur to the operation of gravelling, though on a limestone-gravel foil. A short respite from ploughing, or the occasional application of turf mold, which is generally near at hand, would restore their exhausted land, and render it as fertile as its substratum, limestone-gravel, uniformly does a bog.

The sea coasts likewise, from which, by the way, no part of Ireland is at a greater distance than 50 miles, furnish an inexhaustible supply of manures. Coral sand, a manure of superiour value, is found on the south coast in Baltimore-bay; on the south-west coast in Bantry-bay; on the west coast in Tralee-bay, Clew-bay, Roundstone-bay, Kilkerran harbour, and Galway-bay; on the north coast in Mulroy-harbour; on the east coast off Brayhead in the county of Wicklow, and in other places. Shelly sand, which nearly equals the coral in effect, is found on the south-west coast in Dunmanus-bay; on the east coast near Birr island, in Red-bay, and in many other parts of the same coast. Sea weeds, sea sand of different colours, and sea ooze, are found in abundance all round the coast; and, except the last, which has lately been found to be a very good manure, are every where used, with excellent effect, by the farmers who live within five or six miles of the coast.

The following analysis of some of these sea manures, was made, a few years ago, by a gentleman of the city of Cork, conversant in matters of this nature:

	Carbonate of lime.	Argil and iron.	Silicious earth.
	parts.	parts.	parts.
Mud from Courthasherry harbour-	24	4	72
Sand from Ringabella bay	27	5	68
			Blue

* L. 2.

	Carbonate of lime. parts.	Argil and iron. parts.	Silicious earth. parts.
Blue fand from Courtnasherry harbour	29	4	67
Brown do. do.	56	4	40
do. from Oyster-haven	67	2	31
Red fand from the strand near Clonakilty	69	2½	28½
Coral fand from Bantry bay	100	—	—

The red fand, from the neighbourhood of Clonakilty, is found to be of so very fertilizing a nature, especially when applied to certain soils, that it is carried several miles into the interior of the country, as is the shelly fand, on the coast of Londonderry, at the other extremity of Ireland. The writer has seen near 500 horses assembled at the strand where the former is found. The expense of manuring an acre with coral fand, in the neighbourhood of Bantry bay, in which it is dredged up, is but 3 l., as the writer was informed on the spot. The quantity used is 80 bags. The good effects of it are experienced for 16 years.

Besides these manures, there is a marine production, dredged up in Baltimore bay, which the common people call *wool*, from its resemblance, when dried and pressed, to that article. It is of a dark brown colour, and appears to be a species of moss. It was discovered about two years ago, and has been found an excellent manure for potatoes. The quantity laid on, is about eight boat loads per acre, which cost half a guinea each. From 60 to 200 boats are constantly employed, during the summer, in collecting it.

Thus does Ireland appear to possess, in the greatest abundance, a vast variety of those natural means, whereby the labour and skill of man may, with certain efficacy, be employed in diminishing the quantity of unproductive land; and in preserving and heightening the fertility of that from which his actual supplies of food are drawn.

The different disadvantages which the agriculture of Ireland laboured under, throughout the greater part of the last century, and which shall be noticed in their proper place, had, almost necessarily, the effect of preventing an accumulation of capital among those who, with a view to a livelihood, were principally concerned in that pursuit. The wealthier occupiers of the land were generally engaged in the business of pasture; and

and the profits thence accruing to them were, for the most part, expended in the purchase of those articles, which the prevailing practice of excessive hospitality required; seldom or never in agricultural projects. Several of the country gentlemen pursued tillage in their respective demesnes, with some spirit and some skill, chiefly with the view of supplying the demands of their families; but few of them extended their views to the augmentation of their rentals, by the improvement of the waste and unproductive land which they possessed. The families of those few who did so, experience, in a high degree, at this day, the peculiarly beneficial results of the enterprize and industry of their ancestors. Country gentlemen, indeed, as Adam Smith somewhere remarks, are the most timid of all undertakers. The generality of them in Ireland could not, or at least thought they could not conveniently abridge their annual expences, in such a manner as to enable them to collect a sufficient capital for carrying into effect extensive plans of improvement; and many of them were probably deterred from adding to the burdens of their encumbered estates by borrowing money for such a purpose. The tillage of Ireland for home supply, for there was not sufficient encouragement held forth to cultivate corn for exportation, was chiefly carried on by those who engaged in it with no other capital than the aid of three or four lusty sons or partners, whose united endeavours were directed, during their short leases, to extract from the land as much as the condition in which they found it would admit of; and whose annual profits, hardly earned, after defraying the trivial expences of their food and clothing, were very rarely sufficient to qualify them for any agricultural undertaking which seemed likely to be attended with even moderate expence. Hence it happened, that the waste land of Ireland, presenting such an immense source of wealth, was left almost neglected until near the close of the last century.

The corn-bounties and regulations of 1784, which shall be discussed at large hereafter, and the subsequent increasing demand for the products of the land, have, however, of late, wonderfully ameliorated the circumstances of this class of farmers, and those of that above them; and have consequently enabled them, in many instances, in most parts of Ireland, not only to treat their productive land with somewhat greater liberality than formerly, but to direct their labour to those great mines of wealth, the bogs and mountains.

But

But still the general aim of the Irish farmer is rather to extract a capital from the land, than to render a capital, previously acquired, productive of extraordinary annual profit by the instrumentality of the land.

This preposterous mode of proceeding, which originated in necessity, and was continued through habit, must, however, gradually give way to its opposite. The national industry of Ireland appears to tend, in a peculiar manner, to agriculture, and to those trades which prosper as it advances.

Unless the Irish be allured by an extraordinary prospect of gain to betake themselves, with unusual ardour, to any other manufacture for export, except the linen, the probability of their becoming competitors with the people of Britain, either in the British, or foreign markets, is extremely slight. But still this tendency of Irish capital and industry to agriculture should be seasonably strengthened and confirmed. The interests of Britain and Ireland will be found to require that it should. The interest of Britain, long the vigilant and active destroyer of every infant manufacture in Ireland, at length requires her to become the zealous encourager of the greatest, the most valuable, and the most durable manufacture that Ireland or any other extensive country, similarly circumstanced, can possibly engage in. But of this more hereafter.

To return to facts: Of the cultivated land of Ireland, comprising, as before shewn, 13,454,375 acres, or considerably more than two-thirds of its area, a very considerable portion may vie with the richest in Europe; and surpasses any of which England can boast. "Natural fertility," says Mr. Young, "acre for acre, over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland*." The counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Kilkenny, Roscommon, Sligo, Meath, Armagh, Kildare, Westmeath and Galway, contain tracts of from 1000 to 100,000 acres, which it is difficult to exhaust. The following passages convey Mr. Young's information respecting those which fell under his observation: many well known to the writer unavoidably escaped it. "From Elphin towards Kingston, especially near the latter, the soil ranks among the finest I have any where seen. It is dry, sound, mellow sandy loam, deep and very rich, the herbage excellent†." This tract lies within about four miles of the Boyle river, which flows into the Shannon; and is about 20 miles from the port of Sligo. "A great part of Roscom-

* Vol. ii. Part ii. p. 3.

† Vol. i. p. 308.

mon, particularly from Athlone to Boyle, 30 miles long and 10 broad, is sheep walk. The soil is lime-stone. These sheep walks I had heard so much of that I was eager to make my inquiries concerning them; they were, some years ago, divided into much larger farms than at present, for there were men who had 20,000 sheep: whereas now 6 or 7,000 is the greatest flock *, &c." This tract of rich land reaches to the Shannon and runs parallel with it. "The soil about Monknewton is so good, that if used ever so ill it will recover, and there will be a good sward †." This is in the neighbourhood of the navigable river Boyne. "Upon the river Blackwater, there are tracts of flat land, in some places a quarter of a mile broad; the grass every where remarkably fine. It is the finest sandy loam I have any where seen, of a reddish brown colour, would yield the greatest arable crops in the world, if in tillage; it is five feet deep, and has such a principal of adhesion, that it burns into good brick, yet it is a perfect sand ‡." "The rich land reaches from Charleville to Tipperary by Kilfinane, a line of 25 miles, and across from Ardpatrick to within four miles of Limerick 16 miles. Bruff, Kilmallock and Hospital have very good land about them; the quantity in the whole conjectured to be 100,000 acres (161,983 English measure). It is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, sandy loam, 18 inches to three feet deep, the colour a reddish-brown. It is a dry sound land, and would do for turnips exceedingly well, for carrots, for cabbages, and in a word for every thing. I think, upon the whole, it is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish: it will fat the largest bullock, and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turnips, for wheat, for beans, and in a word for every crop and circumstance of profitable husbandry §." "Towards Clonmel, the whole way through the same rich vein of red sandy loam I have so often mentioned; I examined it in several fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility ||." This tract reaches to the navigable river Suir. "The Corcaffes on the Maag, are five miles long and two broad down to the Shannon; the soil is a kind of yellow and blue clay, of which they make bricks, but there is a surface of blue mould. The grass of them is applied to fattening bul-

* Vol. i. p. 298.

† Id. p. 49.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 28.

§ Id. p. 143.

|| Id. p. 165.

locks, from seven to eight cwt. each, and an acre fats one and gives some winter and spring food for sheep. When they break this land up, they sow first oats, and get 20 barrels an acre, or 40 common barrels, and do not reckon that an extra crop; they take 10 or 12 in succession, upon one ploughing, till the crops grow poor, and then they sow one of horse beans, which refreshes the land enough to take 10 crops more; the beans are very good*." According to this account the tract in question would yield 256,000 common barrels of oats annually for 12 years without manure. "The Curragh of Kildare is a sheep walk of above 4,000 English acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme softness of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye, and is highly set off by the gentle inequality of surface. The soil is a fine dry loam on a sandy bottom †." "There are tracts of such incomparable land, on the Earl of Kingston's estate, in the county of Cork, that I have seen very little equal to them except in Tipperary, Limerick, and Roscommon. A deep friable loam, moist enough for the spontaneous growth to fat a bullock, and dry enough to be perfectly under command in tillage; if I was to name the characteristics of an excellent soil, I should say that upon which you may fat an ox, and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way, I recollect little or no such land in England, yet it is not uncommon in Ireland †." This land lies about seven miles from the river Blackwater. "There are 20,000 acres from Paradise-hill (county of Clare) along the Fergus and Shannon to Limerick. These lands are called the *Corcaffes*. The soil of them is either a rich black loam, or a deep rich blue clay. All the higher lands are limestone, or limestone-gravel. The richness of these *Corcaffes* is very great. When in tillage they sometimes yield extraordinary crops; 50 stat barrels an acre of bere have been known, sixteen of barley, and from 20 to 24 of oats are common crops §." "The soil from Castle Island to Tralee (12 English miles) is all a rich limestone land. About Arabella I went over some exceeding fine reddish sandy and gravelly loam, a prodigiously fine soil ¶." "To Ardfert through a continuation of excellent land and execrable management ¶." "The soil about Kilfaine

* Vol. ii. p. 135.

† Id. p. 214.

‡ Id. p. 271.

§ Vol. i. p. 407. Vol. ii. p. 1.

|| Vol. ii. p. 121.

¶ Id. p. 127.

(county

(county of Kilkenny) is as fine turnip land as any in the world*." "Pass over much light, dry, sandy, gravelly loam, as fine turnip land as I ever saw, but not one cultivated in the country. It is this soil all the way from Athy to Carlow, 12 English miles †." This tract lies contiguous to the navigable river Barrow. "Near Sir Capel Molyneux's domain (in the county of Armagh) I observed one of the finest red sandy loams I have any where seen †." This is about eight miles from the south Bann river, which with the aid of the Newry canal, communicates with the sea in Carlingford harbour.

From several of the statistical surveys, lately published, considerable information on the subject before us may be obtained in addition to the information of Mr. Young. In that of the county of Meath, it is stated that the lands of Diemer in the barony of Fowre are so very rich that the first 10 or 12 crops are quite useless, running to straw, and lodging; that 50 bullocks of 8 cwt. were fattened on 48 acres of the lands of Skreene; and that in the year 1800, which was very dry and unfavourable, 76 cows and two bulls were supported on 77 acres. In the statistical survey of the county of Londonderry, mention is made of very rich land in the neighbourhood of the river Foyle. In that of the King's county, it is observed that the land, throughout the baronies of Warrenstown, Philipstown and Kilcoursey is all very rich. The county of Leitrim also, of which a great portion is waste, is said to contain some very rich land. Tyrone likewise contains much very rich land. So does the Queen's county, especially in the barony of Slewmary. In the statistical survey of the county of Sligo, it is stated that the land, in an area of one hundred and forty square miles (equal to about 113,920 acres, English measure), and in the neighbourhoods of Mercra, Nymphsfield, Ballinote, and Ballintogher, is, with little variation, deep, rich, and productive, fit for every species of tillage, fattening sheep and the heaviest oxen. In that of Mayo, it is said that the fertile land in the barony of Gallen will bear two crops of potatoes, three of oats, and one of flax, with a single dressing of limestone-gravel. In that of Armagh also the great general richness of the soil of that county is spoken of.

To these the writer could, if necessary, add many other instances of extraordinary fertility, in counties remote from each other: two

* Vol. i. p. 93.

† Id. p. 86.

‡ Id. p. 271.

or three will suffice. On the lands of Collioure, the estate of the Honorable Admiral Pakenham, thirteen good crops of oats have been taken in uninterrupted succession from the same field without manure. On 18 acres of pasture, adjoining Garryhendon, the seat of Sir Richard Butler Bart., 18 bullocks and as many sheep are generally fattened within the year. And the writer has seen two crops of potatoes and two of wheat, all excellent, obtained, without manure, in four years, from the same field in the demesne of Moorepark, the seat of the Earl of Mountcashel, in the county of Cork.

In at least 18, then, out of 32 counties, there are tracts of land, which, for the most part, are not to be surpassed in natural fertility by perhaps any other land in the world. And to an equality with these, it is certain that a vast proportion of the remaining bogs might easily be brought.

The traveller who hastens through Ireland as most British tourists do, and beholds its richest pastures overgrown with thistles, fern, ragwort, and other weeds, will find it difficult to believe that its soil is much more fertile than that of the highly cultivated fields of England. "You must examine into the Irish soil," says Mr. Young, "before you can believe that a country which has so beggarly an appearance, can be so rich and fertile*." In point of natural fertility, Ireland is, however, greatly superior to England. Yet, owing to an heretofore universal want of capital, as before noticed, among the more numerous class of farmers, in addition to habitual negligence and supineness on the part of many, and a lamentable deficiency of agricultural knowledge on that of others, the products of Ireland, which ought unquestionably to be to those of England as at least 6 to 5, are as 4 to 5 only. In other words, the former ought to produce at least one half more than it actually does †. The average produce of wheat, barley, and oats in England, according to the information obtained by Mr. Young, in the course of his northern and eastern tours, was 124 pecks per acre; that of Ireland, as appears in his account of his tour, only 101‡. Moreover a very considerable part of the arable land of Ireland, not less perhaps than one-tenth, is, by a long and ruinous succession

* Vol. ii. p. 147.

† The experiments of Mr. Parkinson shew that the produce of Irish land may be more than trebled by pursuing the English mode of culture. Parkinson's Irish Farming.

of grain crops, without manure, annually reduced almost to a state of sterility, from which, however, it recovers in about two or three years*, and is

* It generally happens, especially in the southern parts of Ireland, that land thus exhausted and abandoned, throws up spontaneously, about the third year, a profusion of white clover and trefoil, likewise red clover, wild vetch, and several of the more valuable grasses in the subjoined list.

This list of the indigenous or wild grasses of Ireland was drawn up for the writer by Mr. John White, under-gardener in the botanic garden belonging to the Dublin society at Glasneven. He is actually preparing for the press an ample systematic arrangement of them, with their names in Irish, the principal places where they abound, and every requisite illustration of them.

<i>Anthyllas</i>	<i>Kidney Vetch.</i>	<i>Poterium</i>	<i>Burnet.</i>
<i>Vulneraria</i>	common.	<i>Sanguiforba</i>	common.
<i>Orobus</i>	<i>Bitter Vetch.</i>	<i>Achillea</i>	<i>Millefoil.</i>
<i>Tuberosus</i>	tuberose.	<i>Millefolium</i>	common yarrow.
<i>Lathyrus</i>	<i>Vetchling.</i>	<i>Plantago</i>	<i>Plantain.</i>
<i>Pratenfis</i>	meadow.	<i>Lanceolata</i>	rib-grass.
<i>Vicia</i>	vetch.	<i>Antioxanthum</i>	<i>Spring-grass.</i>
<i>Sylvatica</i>	wood.	<i>Odoratum</i>	sweet-scented.
<i>Cracca</i>	tufted.	<i>Eriophorum</i>	<i>Cotton-grass.</i>
<i>Sativa</i>	common.	<i>Vaginatum.</i>	sheathed.
<i>Sepium</i>	bush.	<i>Polytachion</i>	common.
<i>Trifolium</i>	<i>Trefoil.</i>	<i>Angustifolium</i>	narrow-leaved.
<i>Officinale</i>	melilot.	<i>Nardus</i>	<i>Mat-grass.</i>
<i>Ornithopodeoides</i>	birds-foot.	<i>Stricta</i>	upright.
<i>Repens</i>	creeping.	<i>Phalaris</i>	<i>Canary-grass.</i>
<i>Pratenfis</i>	bed-clover.	<i>Arenaria</i>	sand.
<i>Medium</i>	cow-grass.	<i>Panicum</i>	<i>Panic-grass.</i>
<i>Maritimum</i>	sea.	<i>Sanguinale</i>	cocks-foot.
<i>Arvense</i>	hares-foot.	<i>Phleum</i>	<i>Cats-tail-grass.</i>
<i>Scabrum</i>	rough.	<i>Pratenfis</i>	meadow.
<i>Glomeratum</i>	round-headed.	<i>Alpinum</i>	alpine.
<i>Fragiferum</i>	strawberry.	<i>Rodosum</i>	knotted.
<i>Agrarium</i>	hop.	<i>Milium</i>	<i>Millet-grass.</i>
<i>Procumbens</i>	procumbent.	<i>Effusum</i>	common.
<i>Filiferme</i>	leaf.	<i>Alopecurus</i>	<i>Fox-tail-grass.</i>
<i>Lotus</i>	<i>Birds-foot trefoil.</i>	<i>Pratenfis</i>	meadow.
<i>Corniculatus</i>	common.	<i>Geneculatus</i>	knee-bent.
<i>Villosus</i>	hairy.	<i>Agrostis</i>	bent-grass.
<i>Chicorum</i>	<i>Succory.</i>	<i>Canina</i>	brown.
<i>Intybus</i>	common.	<i>Stolonifera</i>	creeping.

is succeeded in the class of unproductive land by an equal portion similarly deteriorated. Such treatment would certainly render a vast proportion of the

Maritima	sea.	Dumetrum	wood.
Hespeida	fine.	Decumbens	decumbent
Pumila	dwarf.	Elatior	tall.
Minima	least.	Calamaria	reed-like.
<i>Aria</i>	<i>Hair-grass.</i>	Pratenfis	meadow.
Aquatica	water.	Fluitans	float.
Cristata	crested.	Loliacea	darnel-like.
Cæspitosa	turfy.	<i>Bromus</i>	<i>Brome-grass.</i>
Flexuosa	zig-zag.	Seculitus	rye-like.
Precox	early.	Mollis	soft.
Caryophillea	silvery.	Erectus	upright.
<i>Melica</i>	<i>Melic-grass.</i>	Asper	hairy.
Uniflora	one-flowered.	Sterilis	barren.
Cærulea	purple.	Arvensis	field.
<i>Poa</i>	<i>Meadow-grass.</i>	Sylvaticus	slender-wood.
Aquatica	water.	Pinnatus	winged.
Alpina	alpine.	Giganteus	gigantic.
Trivialis	rough-stalked.	<i>Avena</i>	<i>Oat-grass.</i>
Angustifolia	narrow-leaved.	Elatior	tall.
Pratenfis	smooth-stalked.	Pubescens	downy.
Annua	annual.	Flavescens	yellow.
Maritima	sea, or salt-marsh.	Pratenfis	meadow.
Rigida	rigid.	<i>Arundo</i>	<i>Reed-grass.</i>
Compressa	flat-stalked.	Phragmetis	common.
Nemoralis.	wood.	Colorata	canary.
Distans	loose-flowered.	Arenaria	sea.
<i>Briza</i>	<i>Quaking-grass.</i>	<i>Lolium</i>	<i>Darnel-grass.</i>
Media	middle.	Perenne	perennial.
<i>Dactylis</i>	<i>Cocks-foot-grass.</i>	Tenuis	slender.
Glomerata	common.	Temulentum	annual.
<i>Cynofurus</i>	<i>Dogs-tail-grass.</i>	Arvensis	corn.
Cristatus	crested.	<i>Rottbollia</i>	<i>Hard-grass.</i>
<i>Festuca</i>	<i>Fescue-grass</i>	Incurvata	sea.
Bromoides	barren.	<i>Elymus</i>	<i>Lime-grass.</i>
Ovina	sheep's.	Caninus	bearded, or dog's.
Vivipara	viviparous.	<i>Hordeum</i>	<i>Barley-grass.</i>
Rubra	red.	Marinum	wall.
Duriuscula	hard.	Pratenfis	meadow.
			Maritimum

the land of England altogether uselefs, for at least twice the time that the abused land of Ireland is prevented from yielding sustenance to man or beast.

In respect then of that paramount article, soil, as well as all the other physical advantages which facilitate the augmentation of national wealth, Ireland may be truly said to hold a most distinguished place among European countries. Were human industry and skill perseveringly directed to the soil of Ireland, it might eventually be rendered, by the constant aid of an inexhaustible supply of the very best natural manures of various natures, perhaps little, if at all, inferior to that of Italy. And surely Ireland would then, upon the whole, be much more faithfully described in the words of Pliny, appositely quoted by Dr. Beaufort, as a motto to his memoir, than that country which the patriotism of the Roman naturalist

Maritimum	sea.	<i>Holcus</i>	<i>Loft grass.</i>
<i>Triticum</i>	<i>Wheat grass.</i>	Mollis	long-awned.
<i>Junceum</i>	rush-like.	Lanatus	short-awned
<i>Repens</i>	couch or creeping.		
<i>Loliaceum</i>	dwarf.		

These grasses are indigenous in England also. But this difference between the two countries is to be remarked, that, with the exception of the meadow fox-tail, (*Alopecurus Pratensis*,) the soil of Ireland, generally speaking, throws up spontaneously the more valuable of these grasses in the greatest profusion. The contrary of which is generally the case in England.

The following esculent plants, among various others, also grow wild in Ireland :

Crambe Maritima sea-cale. *Beta Maritima* sea-beet.
Cheopodium bonus Henricus wild spinach.

Likewise the following shrubs :

Arbutus
Juniperus
 Communis common.
 Montana mountain.

The common Tormentil (*Tormentilla erecta*) is found in great abundance in the mountainous districts of Ireland. It is used as a substitute for oak bark in tanning.

The grass-leaved *Acorus*, or Chinese sweet-grass, which is highly valued in China, grows wild on the mountains above Castlewellan, in the county of Down.

prompted him to eulogize: "Situ ac salubritate cœli atque temperiæ, accessu cunctorum gentium facili, littoribus portuosiss, aquarum copia, montium articulis, ferorum animalium innocentia, pabuli ubertate: quicquid est quo carere vita non debeat, nusquam est præstantius; fruges, vellera, lina, juvenci *."

That Ireland greatly surpasses her sister-country England, in the aggregate of the endowments of nature, is abundantly obvious. And it may fairly be questioned whether the latter, actually abounding in wealth beyond any other country in Europe, can boast of any one natural advantage which the former does not possess in a superiour degree.

Recapitulation.—With a situation, then, so eminently favourable to foreign commerce; with a coast so free from danger, and every where presenting safer and more capacious harbours and bays than are to be found in any other country, of equal extent, in the world; with so many noble rivers flowing through the land, in all directions, through the richest parts of it, through as fertile districts as any in Europe, through districts of unrivalled fertility, and terminating in harbours calculated not only by locality, but by every other requisite, for the prosecution of the most extensive traffick with every other nation under the canopy of Heaven; with such vast advantages in respect of artificial navigations; with such unequalled means of bringing all parts of the country, as it were, into contact one with another, and affording to each the varied markets of all the rest; with a climate so far removed from the extremes of heat and cold, as to permit the unhoused labourer to pursue his occupation, without danger or obstruction, throughout the year, and to insure an almost perpetual verdure to the pastures; with such an abundant supply of those minerals and fossils which are most necessary to the well-being of man, and on which human labour and ingenuity may be exerted with the fullest effect; with such productive fisheries, both off the coasts and in the rivers and lakes; with a soil so luxuriant and inexhaustible in many places, so fertile in most, and so capable in all others, of being rendered at a trifling expense, highly and permanently profitable; with a singular assemblage of all the various requisites for becoming the great emporium of the commercial world, the theatre

* Nat. Hist. l. 37.

of industry and arts, the granary of the west of Europe, and the successful rival of all other countries, ancient or modern, in commercial opulence and national strength; how has it happened that Ireland was not long since what the sagacious sir William Temple affirmed she might become, "one of the richest countries in Europe?" How has it happened that she did not long since make what he affirmed she was capable of making, "a mighty increase of strength and revenue to the crown of England?" How did it happen that this fair island, so profusely gifted with all the more valuable boons of nature, continued until near the close of the last century, in a state of comparative obscurity and national poverty? How did it happen that a spirit of industry, and a spirit of commercial enterprize, became completely extinguished among the active, quick-sighted, and adventurous people of Ireland? The solution of these questions is far from being either difficult or uninteresting. It will constitute the following part.



P A R T II.

OF THE CAUSES WHICH FRUSTRATED THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES
OF IRELAND.

SECTION I.

Respective political Conditions of Britain and Ireland.

THE causes which operated, until near the close of the last century, in rendering almost abortive the various and eminent advantages obviously possessed by Ireland, are to be discovered, partly among the acts of the British legislature, and partly among those of the subordinate legislature of Ireland.

From the Restoration, but especially from the Revolution, to a very recent period, the conduct of the former towards Ireland, with reference to trade, appears to have been invariably governed by the illiberal suggestions, the deceptive representations, the selfish remonstrances and importunities of merchants; by an ill-judged eventual solicitude for the exclusive commercial advancement of Britain; and it, may perhaps be added, by a false persuasion of the expediency of keeping Ireland in a state of debilitation, in order to her being the more easily managed. "The object of that species of policy which the British government had exercised towards Ireland, (said Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the commercial propositions in the year 1785,) had been to debar her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interests and opulence of Britain."

On the other hand, the legislature of Ireland, from the latter epoch, however the general tenor of its conduct might have been occasionally qualified by the spirited resistance of a few intelligent and patriotic individuals, appears to have acted as if bound alike by duty and interest to second the destructive views of the government of Britain.

Nor does the conduct of either, if duly examined, afford much ground for surprize.

During the earlier stages of successful commerce, a mere mercantile spirit, and its inseparable concomitant commercial jealousy, are likely to have extensive influence on the public mind in every country: and the varying exigencies of a commercial and belligerent nation, such as Britain, are extremely unfavourable to its extinction.

From the Restoration to the Revolution, the commerce of England was greatly extended. The attention of the English, during that period, was much more directed to trade, than it had ever been during any former one. A mercantile spirit began to prevail; and soon acquired effective influence over the decisions of the legislature. The nation threw in an unprecedented manner. The subserviency of the legislature to the selfish views of merchants increased; and was inculcated, rather than reprobated, by the party and popular writers of the day. Every manufacture that was established, every channel of commerce that was opened, and every exclusion that was suggested by British manufactures, for the purpose of obtaining a monopoly in the home market, and throughout the British dominions, was as strenuously supported either by the pamphlets or speeches of those who aimed at a character for patriotism, as if the welfare of the nation depended altogether on the particular manufacture, trade, or exclusion, which interested individuals had obtruded on the consideration of the public. Whatever opposition this spirit experienced, in its progress, from a few disinterested and deep-thinking men, was speedily overcome, and brought into disrepute with the nation at large. The opinions of selfish merchants over-ruled the liberal ones of other orders of men.—“The superiority,” says Adam Smith, “of merchants and master-manufacturers over the country gentleman is not so much in their knowledge of the public interest, as in their having a better knowledge of their own interest than he has of his. It is by this superior knowledge of their own interest that they have frequently imposed upon his generosity, and persuaded him to give up both his own interest and that of the public, from a very simple but honest conviction, that their interest and not his was the interest of the public*.”

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 258.

Even after this incomparable writer had diffused his liberal and enlightened notions, and led the British public and Europe to a more intimate knowledge of the true principles of trade, than had before been attained, this mercantile spirit continued to preserve its influence. He boldly and wisely, but with little effect, advised his countrymen to beware of an implicit reliance on the proposals of merchants and master-manufacturers. "The proposal," says he, "of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from this order, ought always to be listened to with great precaution, and ought never to be adopted till after having been long and carefully examined, not only with the most scrupulous, but the most suspicious attention. It comes from an order of men, whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public, who have generally an interest to deceive and oppress the public, and who accordingly have, on many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it*." His notions, it is true, appear to have made a due impression on the British ministry in 1784; but the modifications, and indeed essential alteration, which the Irish commercial propositions underwent, amounted to a sufficient evidence of the still prevailing influence of the spirit in question over the British legislature. The people of Britain were taught to believe, and did believe, that if these propositions received the sanction of parliament, in their original state, Ireland would become the emporium of the commodities of the West, would undersell England every where, would attract British capitals, British merchants, and British manufactures; and, in short, would ultimately prove the ruin of Britain. Yet when Ireland was, by other means, placed in the enjoyment of the advantages which these propositions held forth, none of the lamentable effects predicted by the apprehensive avarice of traders ensued. On the contrary, the gains of England have been greater, and her commercial dealings with Ireland much more extensive since, than before. The quantities of those different British manufactures, about which such strong apprehensions were entertained, now annually purchased by Ireland, are, collectively, near four times greater than during the season of apprehension; and the foreign merchandize exported from Ireland is still a mere trifle; being to her produce and manufactures exported, as not more than 1 to 67†.

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 259.

† See Tables marked No. IX. XI. XII. in the Appendix.

It was long and generally received as a truth, among mercantile nations, and indeed, whatever may be the sentiments of individuals, appears to be so at present, that the commercial wealth of one country may be augmented by a diminution of that of another; yet there are few truths better established than the converse of the proposition. The excellent writer last quoted sets this matter in a clear light, on more occasions than one. "The wealth of a neighbouring nation," says he, "though dangerous in war and politics, is certainly advantageous in trade. In a state of hostility it may enable our enemies to maintain fleets and armies superior to our own; but in a state of peace and commerce it must likewise enable them to exchange with us to a greater value, and to afford a better market, either for the immediate produce of our own industry, or for whatever is purchased with that produce. As a rich man is likely to be a better customer to the industrious people in his neighbourhood than a poor, so is likewise a rich nation. A rich man indeed, who is himself a manufacturer, is a very dangerous neighbour to all those who deal in the same way. All the rest of the neighbourhood, however, by far the greatest number, profit by the good market which his expense affords them. They even profit by his under-selling the poorer workmen who deal in the same way with him. The manufacturers of a rich nation, in the same manner, may no doubt be very dangerous rivals to those of their neighbours. This very competition, however, is advantageous to the great body of the people, who profit greatly besides by the good market, which the great expense of such a nation affords them in every other way. Private people who want to make a fortune never think of retiring to the remote and poor provinces of the country, but resort either to the capital, or to some of the great commercial towns. They know that where little wealth circulates, there is little to be got, but that where a great deal is in motion, some share of it may fall to them. The same maxims which would, in this manner, direct the common sense of one, or ten, or twenty individuals, should regulate the judgment of one, or ten, or twenty millions, and should make a whole nation regard the riches of its neighbours, as a probable cause and occasion for itself to acquire riches. A nation that would enrich itself by foreign trade is certainly most likely to do so when its neighbours are all rich, industrious, and commercial nations*."

* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 488-9.

If this reasoning be true when applied to nations not even in a state of federation, surely it is much more so when applied to nations subject to the same King. But plain unadulterated good sense like this, with regard to commerce, was far from being in vogue about the time of the Revolution, and still less so at a subsequent period; nor does it appear to have as yet perfectly succeeded in exploding its opposite.

About the epoch just mentioned, very serious apprehensions began to be entertained of a dangerous rivalry on the part of Ireland; and these apprehensions originating, no doubt, with merchants, were soon adopted by statesman and political writers.

Sir William Temple in his letter on the advancement of trade in Ireland, written in 1673, to the Earl of Essex, says, " regard must be had to those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branches of the trade of England; in which cases the encouragement of such trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of trade in England*." Speaking of the wool of Ireland he says, " the improvement of this commodity by manufacturers in this kingdom would give so great a damp to the trade of England, that it seems not fit to be encouraged here †."

Doctor Davenant, whose ideas on the subjects of commerce and government were just, liberal, and comprehensive, appears to have submitted, in the case of Ireland, to the spirit which dominated in his time.

" That the people of Ireland," says he, " should increase, that their land should be drained and meliorated, that they should have trade and grow wealthy by it, may not, peradventure, be dangerous to England; for it is granted that their riches will enter at last here in their mother-country.

" And colonies that enjoy not only protection, but who are at their ease, and flourish, will in all likelihood be less inclined to innovate, or to receive a foreign yoke, than if they are harassed and compelled to poverty through the hard usage of the people from whom they are derived. It seems therefore a point of the highest wisdom to give the planters of Ireland all encouragement that can possibly consist with the welfare of England; for it is an outwork to the seat of empire here; if it

* Miscellaneous works, vol. iii. p. 13.

† Ibid.

should

should be gained by any neighbouring power, the sum of affairs would be put in danger. It is to be preserved but by a numerous army, or by its own proper strength. How far the first way may affect our liberties it is not difficult to determine; it follows then that the safest course must be to let them thrive by husbandry, and *some trade*.—Ever since Ireland did improve, it can be made appear England has had no small proportion of its gains*.”

With these sentiments, however, which were comparatively free from the influence of the prevailing spirit of commercial jealousy, the Inspector General's conduct and writings did not long continue to correspond. He tells us that a bill had passed the House of Commons and was committed to the House of Lords, for prohibiting the exportation of the woollen manufactures of Ireland to foreign parts; that he had inclined to the milder side, being indeed, in *his judgment*, against prohibitions, because most of such as came within his observation seemed to have been pushed on (without doors) rather for private ends and to serve some particular turn, than calculated to produce any public benefit.

But that having now more maturely considered this nice controversy, he began to lean to their opinion who thought such a bill necessary †.

The Inspector General did not stop here;—for when it was in contemplation he set up the linen manufacture in Ireland as a compensation for the loss of the woollen, he opposed the plan on different grounds, concluding with saying, “that it ought to be carefully examined, whether or no a better expedient might not be thought on to stop the progress of the Irish in the new draperies, than to introduce the linen manufacture into Ireland? and whether it would not be best for both kingdoms to take off the prohibition upon Irish cattle? It is true,” says he, “the breeding counties will be thereby somewhat hurt, but it will encourage improvements and melioration of barren land in order to feed, which will be advantageous to the whole public of the nation. It will divest those of Ireland from thinking to extend their trade too much abroad; a *point not to be slighted*; and it will, in a manner, confine a principal part of their dealings to this kingdom; which for many reasons of state will be best and safest for England ‡.”

* Political and commercial works, vol. ii. p. 237.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 239.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 237.

When such sentiments were entertained by such men as Temple and Davenant, it is natural to presume that a high degree of commercial illiberality, towards the people of Ireland, was prevalent among those of England. Such in fact was the case, not only about the period of the Revolution, but ever after. And this illiberality appears to have been always practically proportionate to the weakness of Ireland, resulting from the disunion of its inhabitants: and to have uniformly operated, on all commercial emergencies, until the Irish people, strengthened by unanimity, demanded and effected its repression.

Ireland, though a distinct kingdom and acknowledged as such, was considered and treated by England as a colony; and as a colony whereof the prosperity was deemed rather dangerous than beneficial to the mother-country. The duty and the interest of the Irish legislature evidently required an unalterable opposition to the systematic commercial oppression practised by Britain. And there can be little doubt, that had the Irish nation at large, notwithstanding its comparative weakness, manifested tendency to warrantable resistance; or even had its subordinate legislature repeatedly and loudly remonstrated, and resorted, on all fit occasions, to the strongest language of dissatisfaction, that commercial oppression would have been mitigated at least, if not wholly discontinued. But unfortunately there were certain peculiarities in the Irish system of civil polity, and in the circumstances of Ireland, which had a direct tendency to facilitate any species of usurpation on the part of Britain.

From the House of Lords which comprised a very great portion of the chief land proprietors of Ireland, or those whose interest was principally at stake, little resistance could well be expected. A very considerable number of them resided constantly in England, where moreover many of them had large possessions, and consequently were naturally as much interested in behalf of the welfare of that country, as they could be in behalf of the welfare of Ireland. Those few who attended their parliamentary duty, in the latter, generally found themselves, as the Journals of their house shew, out-numbered by the spiritual Lords, who appear to have been very punctual in their attendance; and of whom a large portion were Englishmen, and very few had territorial possessions of a permanent nature in Ireland.

The

The House of Commons, composed of persons whom the nature of their election *, and the duration of their legislative powers †, exempted much more from popular restraint than the members of the Lower House in Britain, and who consequently were more liable to be swayed by the expedients which every clumsy minister may resort to; deputed moreover, either nominally or really by a minority of the people, in a perpetual state of hostility with the majority, and consequently destitute of national support; were not only not qualified to rescue their country from its ignominious and miserable condition, even though no such law as that of Poynings, which subjected the parliament of Ireland to the controul of the British government, had existed, but sufficiently pre-disposed to adopt such further measures, obstructive of the welfare of Ireland, as might occasionally be suggested or pressed by successive viceroys, no ways interested in its prosperity, but almost uniformly studious to render the tenor of their government subservient to the views of that of Britain.

As for the constituent body of Ireland, consisting exclusively of protestants, they were at all times easily alarmed by any representation, however visionary, of mischievous designs in the contemplation of their Roman Catholic countrymen; or even by occasional returns exhibiting an increase of their numeral strength; and under the recurrent impulse of fear, readily acquiesced, for a long time, in every measure tending to the gratification of that country on which alone they relied for support. Besides, among the individuals of this narrowed order of constituents, every thing in the gift of government, and every one of that endless and diversified multitude of jobs, for which Ireland has ever been notorious, were exclusively distributed: and this partial distribution had necessarily the effect of diffusing personal content, or at least that of silencing clamours which would otherwise have been audible.

The inevitable final result of this unpropitious combination was, a very scanty and disproportionate acquisition of commercial wealth on the part of Ireland; and an almost utter extinction of a spirit of industry therein.

* The open boroughs in Ireland were few in comparison of those in England, which may be deemed so.

† The parliament continued during the life of the reigning king.

To cramp, obstruct, and render abortive the industry of the Irish, were the objects of the British trader. To gratify commercial avarice, to serve Britain at the expense of Ireland, or to facilitate the government of the latter, were the varying objects of the British minister. To keep down the *papists*, cost what it would, and to augment their own revenues by the public money, instead of urging the adoption of wise, liberal, and patriotic measures calculated to quadruple the rents of their estates, were the objects of the reputed representatives of the Irish people, and to secure themselves from retaliations on the part of the Roman Catholics, whom they were encouraged to persecute and taught to dread, was the general object of the Irish gentry.

The unimpeded pursuit of these different objects had necessarily the effect of debilitating Ireland; and preventing that rapid increase of wealth which she must otherwise have experienced: an effect which proved ultimately detrimental to all who concurred in its production, from the Irish country-gentleman to the British trader, except perhaps the needy mercenary who bartered his vote in parliament. The land of the Irish protestant gentleman did not rise in value as it would otherwise have risen; the general strength of the empire was not augmented as it might have been; nor were the demands of the Irish nation on the produce of British industry, so extensive as they might otherwise have become.

In reviewing the different acts of the parliaments of Britain and Ireland, which affected the trade of the latter, it will be found that the trade of a distinct kingdom, the trade of an essential part of the British Empire, was unsuitably, unjustly, unwisely, and oppressively limited like that of a colony; that the prosperity of Ireland was always sacrificed to that of Britain; that, with the exception of the linen, every valuable manufacture established in Ireland, or of the establishment or even introduction whereof there was any prospect, and which was likely to become in any degree a competitor, either in the home or foreign market, with a similar one undertaken in Britain, however insignificant, was industriously depressed; that the Irish were invariably obliged to give the preference to the produce of British industry; that, with the foregoing exception, no manufacture of Ireland was fairly received by Britain; that downright necessity alone occasioned the admission of even the rude produce of the former into the latter; that the acts of the Irish parliament which affected to

aim at internal improvements, calculated to enlarge the trade of the country, or which purported to be for the advancement of any lucrative species of enterprize, were, for the most part, merely illusive; that the commercial restraints, which Ireland laboured under were most grievous and most numerous when the Roman Catholics were most overpowered; that the late, but happy liberation of the Irish trade, and the emancipation of the Irish Roman Catholics, were coeval and concurrent; and that there is sufficient reason to infer from the long and uninterrupted succession of these restrictive and illusive laws, that Ireland would have continued in a state of thralldom to this day; had it not been for an accidental occurrence of auspicious circumstances tending to promote the principles of union among Irishmen; and to give such effective energy to the popular voice, as was likely to insure a legislative compliance with the warrantable demands of a long betrayed and oppressed people.

SECTION II.

English Statutes restrictive of the Trade of Ireland.

THE peculiarly favourable situation of Ireland for commercial intercourse with America and the West Indies, was one of the first of those natural advantages possessed by the former, which excited the apprehensions of the mercantile body of England. And this apprehension, thus grounded, appears to have continued with unabated influence: for in the years 1784-5, as before noticed, when the Irish commercial propositions were in agitation, it was declared, in a fit of anger and despondency, both in and out of parliament, that in the event of their being acceded to by the legislature, Ireland must inevitably become the emporium of the commodities of the west.

By the 12 C. II. c. 18, the Irish were expressly enabled to participate with the English all the benefits arising from that prudent act, and accordingly traded freely with the plantations. But by the 15 C. II. c. 7, no commodities of the growth of Europe were to be imported into the plantations, but such as were laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick, on pain of confiscation, except salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wine from the Madeiras and Azores, and horses, servants, and victuals from Scotland and Ireland; to which was added by 3 and 4 A. c. 8, and by 3 G. I. c. 21, linen from Ireland. But the Irish, not considering themselves bound by the new law, (15 C. II.) carried on the trade as before. It was in consequence ordered by 22 and 23 C. II. c. 26, that the word *Ireland* should for the future be left out of all bonds taken for the delivery of plantation commodities in England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick; so that although the Irish were not expressly forbid to import them, yet the bonds being to be given for delivery in England, Wales, or Berwick, the Irish could not, without incurring the penalty of their bonds, deliver them any where else; and consequently fell under the limitations of the navigation act, plantation act, &c. This act, which was a temporary one, was continued by

5 G. I. c. 11, so long as the act of tannage and poundage should endure. By the 25 C. II. c. 17, ships refusing to give bonds were only to pay certain duties. But by 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22, it was declared that, notwithstanding the duties ordered to be paid by that act, all ships whatsoever should give such bonds as were required by 12, 22, and 23 C. II. and afterwards, in the fifteenth section of the same act, it is ordered that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations shall, on any pretence whatsoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unless the same has first been landed in England; and has paid the rates and duties with which they are chargeable by law. Thus was Ireland, while rendered incapable of making effectual remonstrances by national imbecillity, consequent on internal disunion, avariciously excluded from the direct lucrative trade of the whole western world. The exclusive trading companies of England had the effect of narrowing and shackling the commerce of Ireland with other parts; of obstructing it completely with Asia, and seconded by auxiliary statutes, of contravening it with Africa.

It is true that before the happy period of Irish unanimity and strength, there occurred a relaxation of the laws which impeded the commerce of Ireland with the western world. But this incidental relaxation, viz. 4 G. II. c. 15, was little more than a mere illusion; or perhaps resolved on with the view of prolonging the weakness of Ireland; or in order to give a boon to the planters of the West India islands at the expense of the Irish. By the act just alluded to, the people of Ireland obtained permission to import directly from the plantations into their own country *all* goods, &c. of the growth, production, or manufacture of the said plantations, except sugars, tobacco, indigo, cotton, wool, molasses, ginger, pitch, tar, turpentine, masts, yards and bowsprits, speckle wood, Jamaica wood, fustick, or other dying woods, rice, beaver skins or other furs, or copper ore. In fact this generous permission, to import directly from the plantations, may be considered as having been limited to rum; the easy introduction of which was equally calculated to give additional employment to the people of the West Indies, and to circumscribe the use of Irish spirits, the manufacture whereof was likely to prove, as it afterwards did prove, an effectual encouragement to agriculture, that paramount and imperishable source of wealth and strength.

But

But although Ireland was thus prohibited from trading with those parts of the world, with which she seems qualified, in a peculiar manner, by nature, to carry on a reciprocally beneficial interchange of commodities, yet she possessed the means of driving an highly profitable trade with England; and eventually accumulating such wealth as might have enabled her to purchase therein, to an immense annual amount, the monopolized commodities of the western and eastern worlds. The wool of Ireland was remarkably fine. It far surpassed that of England. According to the evidence of Mr. Hone in 1784, as appears in the Irish Commons Journals, it sold, about the beginning of the last century, for two shillings the pound. Even now, notwithstanding the deterioration it has experienced, the wool of the native Irish sheep sells, in some parts of Ireland, for two and three shillings the stone more than the wool obtained from the English breeds of sheep; breeds which, no doubt, are much less troublesome, and in some respects more profitable, to the grazier than the former*; but which have not been found so healthy; and certainly are not preferable either for the table or the loom †.

To disable the people of Ireland from excelling, or even vieing, with those of England in the woollen manufacture, was one of the earliest efforts of that mercantile spirit which prevailed in England subsequent to the Restoration. Before that æra, indeed, the commercial intercourse between England and Ireland appears to have been upon a fair and liberal footing. By the 3 Ed. IV. c. 4, woollens, laces, ribbands, gold and silver lace, saddlery, iron and hardware, gloves, leather manufactures, hats, &c. were prohibited to be imported into England. But this act contained the following liberal, amicable and wise proviso in favour of Ireland: provided that all wares and chaffers made in the land of Ireland or Wales may be brought and sold in this land of England, as they *were wont* to do before the making of this statute, any act or statute notwithstanding. By the 1 R. III. c. 12. merchant strangers were prohi-

* The wool in the counties of Clare and Kerry is still of a very fine quality.

† The writer has learnt that the wool obtained from a breed of sheep, lately introduced by the Marquis of Sligo, is of an incomparable quality. The effectual endeavours which that noble Lord has been in the habit of making, for a considerable series of years, to improve the rural œconomy of Ireland, are singularly worthy of imitation; and merit a high degree of gratitude on the part of his countrymen.

bited from bringing into England, for sale, any of the following articles; viz. laces, leather manufactures, gloves, iron and hardware, painted glasses, painted papers, painted cloths and saddlery. In this act Ireland was not mentioned. And as in the former, viz. 3 Ed. IV. c. 4. containing a proviso in favour of Ireland, no merchant stranger, denizen nor native, nor other person was allowed to bring in the prohibited articles, it may be presumed that the act of Richard was not intended to affect Ireland. By 5 El. c. 7. all persons whatsoever were prohibited from bringing into England, from parts beyond the seas, hardwares, saddlery, gloves, &c. This act was continued by 2 J. I. c. 25, 3 C. I. c. 4., and 16 C. I. c. 4. in none of which was Ireland mentioned; and therefore as the expression, *parts beyond the seas*, may be so considered as not to imply Ireland, she possibly was still left to reap the benefits of the proviso in the act of Edward, were she in a capacity so to do. At all events, Ireland could still import into England all manufactures of wool and silk, gold and silver lace, and hats; and continued to enjoy this permission until it was completely frustrated by the 12 C. II. c. 4., which granted the subsidy of tonnage and poundage. In the book of rates which accompanied that act, woollen cloths were rated at 8l. 10s. per yard; and consequently were liable to a duty of 8s. 6d. per yard, without any reservation for those of Ireland. The other woollen fabrics were rated in proportion. Silk, gold and silver lace, and hats were rated so high as to stop their importation. The wool of Ireland, however, raw or manufactured, might still be exported, with different prospects of gain, to any other part of the world. The 12 C. II. c. 32. prohibited, it is true, the exportation of wool or fuller's-earth from England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. But this prohibition, if advantageous to England, was, with regard to wool, equally so to Ireland.

Such was the condition of Ireland, with respect to trade and manufactures, anterior to the Revolution. The 1 W. & M. c. 32. seemed to aim merely at augmenting the supply of the raw material of the woollen manufactures of England at the expense of those of Ireland. Yet from the pains which were constantly taken to prevent the exportation of wool from England, and the facility with which its importation was permitted, in might be inferred, that the object of this act, which permitted the exportation of wool from certain ports in Ireland to certain others in England,

land, was to serve the woollen manufactures of the latter at the expense of those of the former. This restricted exportation appears, however, to have had the effect of inducing the Irish to apply, with unusual assiduity, to their woollen manufactures. In consequence thereof it was deemed expedient to embarrass them; and accordingly by 9 & 10 W. III. c. 40, the exportation of fuller's-earth and scouring-clay to Ireland was prohibited under severe penalties*.

The progress of the Irish woollen manufactures, however, still continuing to give increasing inquietude to the monopolizers in England, the parliament, under the influence of manufacturers, resolved to take decisive measures to preclude all competition with England, on the part of Ireland, in foreign markets. Accordingly on the 9th June 1698, the English Lords presented an address to King William III. stating, "that the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and *goodness of materials* for making *all manner of cloth*, doth invite his subjects of England with their families and servants to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes his loyal subjects, in this kingdom, very apprehensive that the farther growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; and praying that His Majesty would be pleased; in the most public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all his subjects of Ireland that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there hath long and will be ever looked upon with great jealousy by all his subjects of this kingdom."

On the 30th of June, the Commons presented a similar address; and His Majesty was pleased to say, in answer, "Gentlemen, I will do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

These addresses were speedily followed by an act, 10 & 11 W. III. c. 10, prohibiting the exportation of wool, yarn, new drapery, or old drapery from Ireland, to any other place but England, on pain of forfeiting ship and cargo, and 500l. for every offence; no acquittal in Ireland being allowed to bar a prosecution in England. The permission to export the woollen manufactures of Ireland to England was merely illusive; the duties on importation into the latter being tantamount to a prohi-

* Since that time plenty of excellent fuller's-earth has been discovered in Ireland.
bition.

bition. These duties, moreover, were seconded in their effect by a duty of four shillings in the pound *ad valorem*, imposed by the Irish Parliament 10 W. III. c. 5, on all old drapery (frize excepted), and two shillings on all new drapery, exported from Ireland; "the better," as the obsequious Commons of Ireland observed, "to enable His Majesty to provide for the future safety of his liege people."

By 1 A. c. 12. sess. 2. the Irish were enabled to export the necessary clothing and accoutrements of certain regiments belonging to the Irish establishment, and cantoned in the Leeward Islands; but by 3 & 4 A. c. 8, no woollen manufacture whatsoever was to be imported into the plantations, but what had been taken on board in England, on pain of forfeiture. The 3 G. I. c. 8, and 5 G. I. c. 11, had for their common object the prevention of the export of wool or woollen manufactures from Ireland. These, however, still found their way to foreign countries: but the fact being detected by the vigilant monopolizers of England, three ships of war of the sixth rate, and eight or more armed vessels, were appointed by 5 G. II. c. 21, to cruise off the coast of Ireland and Great Britain, with orders to take and seize all vessels loaded with any woollen manufactures from Ireland.

By all these *highly laudable* and wise expedients, the woollen manufacture of Ireland, which would have eclipsed that of England, at least as the influenced parliament of that country apprehended, and which long struggled with effect under difficulties, was at length almost completely annihilated, and the monopoly of England perfectly secured*; but whether for the ultimate advantage of His Majesty's dominions, collectively taken, may reasonably be questioned.

The establishment of the different branches of the glass manufacture in Britain was of a much more recent date than that of the woollen. As soon as they began to afford considerable employment to the labouring part of the English community, and to yield such profits to the undertakers as induced an augmentation of their number, and eventually disposed the legislature to feel a solicitude for their interest, the ordinary desideratum of grudging avaricious traders was acceded to. The Legislature was easily deluded into a belief of the expediency of securing a monopoly. And a monopoly at the expense of Ireland was accordingly resolved on.

* See table N° IX. in the Appendix.

By 19 G. II. c. 12, the importation of glass into Ireland, from any place but Britain, and the exportation of glass from Ireland to any place whatsoever, were prohibited, on pain of forfeiture of ship and cargo, and a penalty of ten shillings for every pound weight of glass put on board, or on shore, on the master and every person aiding and assisting therein. Had it not been for this violent and unwarrantable act, patiently acquiesced in by the subordinate and mercenary parliament of Ireland, it is not unlikely that Ireland would have surpassed and underfold Britain in the glass manufacture, as it certainly would have done in the woollen; for, in respect of all the raw materials taken together, the former was as favourably circumstanced as the latter; in respect of the principal ingredient of the crown-glass manufacture (kelp) much more so*; and in respect of cheapness of labour it also had the advantage. In fact, the glass manufactured in Waterford, a few years after the Irish Parliament was compelled by a united people to pursue their welfare, equalled, if not excelled, any of the same kind made in Britain, notwithstanding the skill acquired in the latter by long practice.

The monopoly given to British hop-merchants was another evidence of the unlimited influence of the mercantile spirit in England. Doubts having arisen, as stated in 5 G. II. c. 9, whether hops were among the articles which might be imported into Ireland from the plantations, under 4 G. II. c. 15. it was declared by the former act that they were not, nor to be imported into Ireland from any other place but Great Britain; from whence, by the way, there was a duty on exportation of three-pence per pound, over and above all other duties, customs, and subsidies, as settled and made perpetual by 1 G. I. ses. 2. c. 12. s. 5.; and, in order to perfect the monopoly, it was enacted, by 7 G. II. c. 19. that all hops landed in Great Britain or Ireland, except British hops in the latter, should be burned, and the ship forfeited. The almost total want of timber in Ireland, occasioned by the improvident and unrestricted use of it in the iron-works, about the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries; and the consequent disposition, among the lower people, to pilfer such as might be

* It appeared, as before noticed, by the evidence of Mr. Hurst, before the Committee of the Privy Council in 1785, that kelp, the most material ingredient in the crown-glass manufacture of England, was supplied by Ireland.

left in the fields, and happened to be suitable to any of their exigencies, rendered it rather hazardous to employ any part of a capital in the cultivation of hops, which, moreover, were rather too uncertain a crop for the small capitalists who engaged in farming in Ireland. The Irish therefore were left, for one of what may be called the necessaries of life, entirely in the hands of the hop-merchants of Britain; and, partly on account of the uncertainty of the crops there, obliged to pay much more for that necessary article than they could, one year with another, have purchased it for in other countries. "To prohibit," says Adam Smith, "a great nation from making all that they can of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind*."

Under the paralyzing influence of the mercantile spirit, the legislature of Britain really treated the people of Ireland, unprotected as they were by an independent parliament, or rather wantonly and treacherously exposed to ill treatment by a dependent and mercenary one, much worse than that legislature did, or could have treated the people of any of those countries with which, in the vicissitudes of politics, it might frequently be engaged in war. In other words, it imprudently injured those who were destined to second it in its wars, much more than those who were likely to become its antagonists. The measures already noticed shew the truth of these assertions. The following schedule of duties will confirm them:

1784.	
Duties payable in Great Britain on the importation of the following goods (not French):	Duties in Ireland on British goods import. d.
£ s. d. 20ths.	£ s. d. 20ths.
All manner of woollen cloths, the yard, - - - - - 2 0 6 4	Old drapery - - - - - 0 0 5 19 $\frac{7}{8}$
Stuff made or mixed with wool, ditto - - - - - 0 5 11 10	New ditto - - - - - 0 0 1 19 $\frac{2}{8}$
Sugar refined, the cwt. 5 6 9 19 $\frac{1}{4}$	- - - - - 1 13 11 13 $\frac{1}{4}$
Beer and ale, the barrel, 32 gallons - - - - - 0 1 5 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	} - - - - - 0 1 2 18 $\frac{1}{8}$
and besides, if valued at 20s. per barrel - - - - - 0 5 11 10	
Spirits, single (not of British plantations), the gallon 0 3 0 18 $\frac{3}{8}$	- - - - - 0 2 3 —

* Vol. ii. p. 86.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF IRELAND.

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	£. s. d. 20lbs.		£. s. d. 20lbs.
Cotton manufactures unrated, not brought from the East Indies, for every 100l. on oath	29 15 10	-	9 18 5 8
and besides, for every 100l. value, gross price, at the candle	17 17 6		
Linen and cotton mixed, for every 100l. value on oath	29 15 10	-	9 18 5 8
Linen cloth, white or brown, <i>Irish</i> , free			
Ditto, printed, &c. for every 100l. value on oath	65 10 10	-	9 18 5 8
Silk stockings prohibited.		-	0 3 11 12½
Stockings, cotton or thread, the dozen pair	0 12 6	every 100l. value on oath	9 18 5 8
and besides, if cotton, for every 100l. gross price, at the candle	17 17 6		
Wrought silks prohibited.		lb.	0 7 5 2½
Hops, the cwt.	6 8 8 8	-	1 0 8 12½
Leather manufactures unrated, for every 100l. value on oath	65 10 10	-	9 18 5 8
Gloves of silk or leather prohibited.		dozen pair	0 2 11 14½
Chip hats, the dozen, medium between large and small	0 4 10 17½	every 100l. value on oath	9 18 5 8
Candles of tallow, the cwt.	1 9 8 10½	-	0 5 6 13½
Starch, ditto	4 12 1 17½	-	0 6 5 12½
Soap, ditto	2 7 8	-	0 5 11 1½
Checks, the piece, not above 10 yards	0 3 11 13½	-	0 1 3 17½
and besides, for every 100l. value on oath	35 15 0		
Bed-ticks not rated, for every 100l. value on oath	29 15 10	-	9 15 8 8*

The heavy duties in the first column, imposed by the British Parliament, placed Ireland on a level with other unfavoured countries; the moderate

* Irish money. Commons Journals, Vol. ii. p. 140, Appendix.

ones in the second, imposed by the complainant Parliament of Ireland, gave an advantage in the Irish market to the English manufactures, which they, of all others, least deserved. The gloves, the tabbinets, and the silk handkerchiefs of Ireland, all of which might have become valuable manufactures, were selfishly excluded from the British market; and yet they have never since been equalled in Britain. This was pushing commercial envy to a most inexcusable, extravagant, unprofitable length.

But the merchants and manufacturers of England were not the only descriptions of people who obstructed the welfare of Ireland under the impulse of selfish considerations; the landholders also concurred in the impolitick pursuit.

The exportation of lean oxen and cows from an insular country to any other, situated at a greater distance from it than 30 or 40 leagues, and possessing a sufficiency for the use of its inhabitants, can never be attended with sufficient profit to induce the continuance of the practice. England was the only country lying near enough to Ireland to prompt the people of the latter to get rid of their redundant stock thus; and even in that country, in consequence of there being then no want of cattle, those of the Irish yielded very trivial profits, notwithstanding the proximity of the islands. Yet, from this species of traffick too, the traffick, generally speaking, of a poor and depopulated country, it was deemed expedient to exclude the people of Ireland. Accordingly, by 15 C. II. c. 7, the importation of black cattle and sheep was loaded with a heavy duty; by 18 C. II. c. 2, the importation of great cattle, sheep, and swine, beef, pork, and bacon from Ireland was declared a common nuisance, and forbid, on pain of forfeiture; and by 32 C. II. c. 2, forfeiture was extended to mutton, lamb, butter, and cheese, and made perpetual: so much of the act, however, as related to bacon, was repealed by 5 & 6 W. and M. c. 2.

The redundancy of lean stock in Ireland, occasioned by this prohibition, had the effect of lowering their price, and, eventually, that of fat cattle, so much as to give rise to a brisk foreign demand for Irish salted provisions; and Ireland soon became the principal country in Europe from whence butcher's meat was exported. But butcher's meat, unless exported to a country so peculiarly circumstanced, in respect of wealth and demand, as England has of late years been, will seldom fetch such a price as to enable the grazier in the exporting country to pay a high rent for the land

land he holds. Accordingly the rent of land in Ireland was formerly very low*. When it began to rise in consequence of the conjunct operation of other causes, the exportation of the produce of pasture would generally have declined, had it not been for the growing and effectual demands of such a wealthy country as England. The provisions which Ireland has of late years exported to other countries, have been of very little value in comparison of those which it has exported to England. The value of the beef exported from Ireland, on an average of three years, ending 25th March 1799, was

	-	-	-	-	£ 424,534
Of this sum Britain paid	-	-	-	-	343,272
					<hr/>
Other countries the remainder, viz.	-	-	-	-	81,262
					<hr/>
The value of the butter exported same time was	-	-	-	-	949,266
Of this sum Britain paid	-	-	-	-	739,544
					<hr/>
Other countries the remainder, viz.	-	-	-	-	209,722
					<hr/>

The value of the cows, oxen, and sheep exported same time was 122,822 the whole of which was paid by Great Britain. The total paid by Great Britain for the foregoing articles was 1,205,638l.; the total paid by other countries was 290,984l.; so that the former purchased upwards of four times more of the butcher's meat and butter exported from Ireland than the latter.

Not stopping with the gratification of the landholders of England, by prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle and provisions, the British government was frequently, and at a late period, inveigled into gratifying the avarice of a few contractors, by laying embargoes on the exportation of Irish provisions, for the ostensible purpose of preventing the enemies of Britain from being supplied therewith; but really for the sole benefit of the contractors, who thus became the only purchasers.

* The Buttevant estate, purchased by Mr. Anderson, of Fermoy, from the Earl of Barrymore, and containing 2700 English acres of very rich land, formerly pasture, was let in the year 1706 for 180l. a-year. The lease expired in 1805; and the land will now let for upwards of 4000l. a-year.

These discouragements would naturally have urged the Irish to forsake pasture and pursue tillage, had the latter afforded them a better prospect of gain. But first, the corn-laws of England laying heavy duties on the importation of corn, unless when it rose to an unusually high price, prevented them from sending the produce of their tillage thither. Secondly, the want of certain and liberal bounties on the general exportation of corn from Ireland, discouraged the merchants from engaging therein. Thirdly, the unobstructed influx of corn from England, under the operation of the English bounties on export, tended, during plentiful years in England, to keep down its price in Ireland, and thereby to discourage the farmers. Fourthly, the landlords of Ireland, for a long time, restrained their tenants from ploughing. And fifthly, although the labouring poor of Ireland, who subsisted chiefly on potatoes, increased considerably, there was no such increase of those different classes of people by whom bread is ordinarily consumed. A great portion of the gentry, with their families, resided in England*, and, except the northern weavers, there were scarcely any manufacturers in Ireland. In short the Irish corn could not reach foreign markets with a prospect of reasonable gain; nor had it a sufficient market at home. There existed therefore no encouragement to embark in the expenses and trouble of tillage, and abandon the lazy life of the grazier.

And here it may be observed, that although Ireland gained by her general trade, before the middle of the last century, she lost by her trade with Britain; that about the year 1727, the English took from Ireland generally between 200,000 and 300,000 stones of wool, yarn and worsted, worth 130,000l., which when worked up was worth 500,000l., and also linen yarn worth upwards of 90,000l. which when further manufactured was worth 200,000l.; in other words, that England secured to her own manufactures 480,000l. a-year on two

* About the commencement of the reign of George the Second, the Irish absentees residing in England were numerous beyond precedent; comprising many whose absence seemed utterly unallowable: such for instance as officers of the Post-office, whose salaries amounted to 6,000l. a year, the Master of the Ordnance, Master of the Rolls, Lord Treasurer and Vice-Treasurers, four commissioners of the Revenue, the Secretary of State, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, the clerk of the crown for Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, and even the Master of Revels, &c.

articles of the nature of raw materials, one of which at least prevented the people of Ireland from working up by narrowing their markets. That while she imported these articles and other raw materials to a considerable amount, such as hides and tallow, from Ireland, all the articles which she sent thither were worked up to the utmost.

SECTION III.

Irish Acts favourable to British Merchandize.

WHILE Britain was thus vigilantly engaged in perpetual hostility against the commerce of Ireland, retaliation, or at least counteraction, might naturally have been expected on the part of the latter. The fact, however, was far otherwise. Instead of remonstrating loudly against this cruel oppression; instead of sedulously employing all the means which could be resorted to for the purpose of defeating its effects; the parliament of Ireland appear to have patiently acquiesced, and not only acquiesced, but in some degree concurred therein. It was chosen, as before noticed, for the life of the reigning prince *, by that small number of persons among the Irish people who were qualified to vote †. Two-thirds of the people had no influence whatsoever over its decisions. It in fact represented about seven hundred thousand people, intermixed with about thirteen hundred thousand, with whom they co-existed in a state of smothered warfare. It was actuated by an apparently false persuasion of the necessity of keeping the Roman Catholics in a state of debilitation; and by a true persuasion of the necessity of yielding to whatever measures were considered as conducive to the prosperity of Britain, on whose support alone it relied for protection against the majority of the Irish people, whom its partial and rigorous laws had alienated and disposed to hostility.

The first legislative procedure which evinced an unpatriotic obsequiousness on the part of the Parliament of Ireland to the views of that of Bri-

* By 7 G. III. c. 3, the duration of parliaments in Ireland was limited to eight years, with the view, as the act says, of strengthening the harmony and good agreement subsisting between His Majesty and his people of Ireland, and being productive of other good effects to His Majesty's subjects.

† According to a return presented to the House of Lords in 1731, the population of Ireland consisted then of 700,451 protestants, and 1,390,770 Roman Catholics.

tain, was the answer of the Commons to the speech of the Lords Justices in 1698, on the subject of establishing the linen and suppressing the woollen manufacture. They assure their excellencies that they will heartily endeavour to establish the linen and hempen manufacture in Ireland, and that they hope to find such a temperament in respect to the woollen trade, that the same may not be injurious to England. This answer, which seems to betray a certain degree of reluctance to sacrifice the valuable and promising woollen manufacture of Ireland*, was soon followed by the act (10 W. III. c. 5.) before noticed, imposing a duty of four shillings in the pound, *ad valorem*, on all old drapery (frize excepted,) and two shillings on all new drapery exported from Ireland.

By the compact of 1698, Ireland appeared to be vested with a discretionary power to protect and promote the linen manufacture in whatever manner might seem best. But far from employing that power to injure the rival manufacture of linen in England, thus following the example of the legislature of the latter, in the case of the woollen manufacture, it was not employed even as far as a subordinate legislature could, and was authorised to employ it. The Irish woollens were excluded, by heavy duties, from the British market; but the British linens soon met with no obstruction in their progress to the market of Ireland. By 2 A. c. 4. an additional duty of 6d. per yard was imposed on all linens imported; and this duty was continued by several successive acts during the same reign. In the year 1717, however, or about 19 years after the compact, British linens were, by 4 G. I. c. 6. exempted from all duties on importation into Ireland so long as the Irish were permitted to export their linens directly to the plantations, as were British cambricks, lawns, linen painted or stained in England, and towelling, by 17 G. II. c. 1, 19 G. II. c. 2, 19 G. II. c. 6, 11 & 12 G. III. c. 1, which imposed duties on these different articles imported from other countries. So that Ireland was obliged to admit an apparently dangerous rival into her home-market, which England would never consent to do with regard to her woollens, in order to secure a convenient foreign

* The woollens annually exported, about the year 1677, were worth 70,000l. and the balance of trade was then 400,000l. in favour of Ireland. In the year 1700, after the restriction of her woollen trade, the balance in her favour amounted to 22,472l. only. . .

market for her linen manufactures, the sale whereof Britain was bound to promote, in consideration of the surrender which the Irish had made of their valuable woollen manufacture. The varied encouragement, however, which the Irish legislature gave to the linen manufacture, and which the British government could not, without a most flagrant outrage of the principles of honor and justice, prevent, had the twofold effect of rendering this rivalry almost entirely harmless, and the linen manufacture steadily and rapidly progressive.

Of the different measures adopted by the Irish legislature, to promote the linen manufacture, some slight notice must here be taken; not because they were the most prudent that might have been devised; but because the manufacture flourished under their operation; and because they were almost the only ones which rescue that legislature from the charge of having, until near the close of the last century, totally neglected the welfare of Ireland.—But before these measures be noticed, it is proper to observe, in conformity with the drift of the present section, that the Irish legislature, after permitting the rivalry of the British linen and cambric manufacturers, patiently, and without remonstrance, submitted to a signal violation of the compact, on the part of England, in the instance of sail-cloth.

In order to promote the foreign sale of this manufacture, which seemed likely to prosper exceedingly, the parliament of Ireland in the 19th year of George II. granted bounties on the exportation thereof, of two-pence per yard, if of the value of ten-pence, and under fourteen-pence, and four-pence per yard, if above fourteen-pence. These bounties were soon counteracted by import duties, to the same amount, imposed in Britain by 23 G. II. c. 33, the preamble to the act stating, “that large bounties having been granted by the parliament of Ireland on sail-cloth of the manufacture of that kingdom, which hath encouraged the importation of considerable quantities thereof into Great Britain, and may tend to the prejudice of that manufacture therein, &c.” Thus was the Irish sail-cloth manufacturer denied the advantage of one of the best markets he could find for the produce of his industry; and the English ship-owner, in a great degree, subjected to the monopoly of his countrymen, whose sail-cloth neither was, nor is so good and durable as that manufactured in Ireland. This proceeding was afterwards followed by a bounty on sail-cloth

cloth exported to Ireland. It is true that in the addresses of the Lords and Commons of England to King William, the linen manufacture alone is mentioned; but in the speech of the Lords Justices to the parliament of Ireland, the linen and hempen manufactures are coupled together; and it was always understood that, being analogous, the Irish and English legislatures were bound to give them equal encouragement, in compensation for the surrender of the woollen *. Indeed the titles of the successive acts of the Irish parliament, concerning the linen manufacture, afford sufficient evidence of the prevalence of this opinion. In all these titles the hempen is conjoined with the flaxen manufacture.

It appears by different statutes, of old date, that the people of Ireland had been, for many years anterior to the Revolution, in possession of a considerable trade in linens, as well as woollens. The Earl of Strafford in the reign of Charles the First, gave much encouragement to the former. It did not, however, become the principal, or rather the only object of legislative solicitude, in behalf of manufacturing industry, before the reign of Anne; although an act passed in that of Charles the Second which seemed to evince a strong inclination, on the part of the legislature, to promote it. By this act, viz. 17 & 18 C. II. c. 9, the sum of 20l. was directed to be levied by the grand juries in every county, except those of Dublin and Kerry, at each Lent assizes, for 20 years, and distributed in premiums of 10l. for the best, 6l. for the second best, and 4l. for the third best piece of linen, 30 ells long, and one broad, submitted to their inspection. By the same act, the sum of 6,000l., levied by the parliament on the kingdom at large, was to be applied to purchase, in each province, one bleach yard, containing four plantation acres, and to erect a wall round it, and suitable buildings. It likewise subjected to a

* " Amongst these bills there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures; at our first meeting we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as such we now recommend it to you. The settlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of England, from whence all foreign markets are supplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpose: *whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged as consistent with the trade of England; but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.*"

Extract from the Lords Justices Speech, Sept. 27, 1698.

penalty of 40s. every landlord who should let a cottage or cabin, not within a city, suburbs or walled town, to any person not holding one plantation acre of land, and covenanting to sow one-eighth thereof with flax or hemp, and to a penalty of 10s. every tenant who should neglect to do so. It also subjected to an annual penalty of 5l. every person who should plough 30 acres of land without sowing half an acre with flax or hemp, and to an annual penalty of 3l. every person who should plough less without doing the same.

In the reign of King William, there did not pass a single act for the encouragement of the linen manufacture in Ireland; although His Majesty promised his Commons of England to do all that in him lay to discourage the woollen and encourage the linen manufacture there.

The fourth year of Queen Anne was that in which the Irish legislature began to manifest an unremitting solicitude for the success of the linen manufacture. From that year to the nineteenth of George the Second, there passed no fewer than 14 acts, having for their common objects its encouragement and regulation; which was a greater number than had passed, since the Revolution, for the encouragement of all other sorts of trade and manufactures put together. These acts were all revised, their useless or inexpedient clauses, provisos, &c. expunged, their beneficial and effectual ones retained and consolidated into one act, viz. 19 G. II. c. 6. which was followed by a succession of others suggested by different emergencies and accompanied by bounties, &c.

An examination of these acts and these bounties, with the view of discovering how far the former were well devised, and how far the latter were likely to be faithfully and effectually applied, would be equally superfluous and tedious. It will suffice to say, with regard to the latter, that, according to the accounts presented to parliament, there was disbursed, by the trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, from the 25th March 1712, to the same day in 1783, no less a sum than 888,813l. and that the money unaccounted for, or not properly accounted for, to these trustees by the secretaries of the linen board, in four years ended in 1780, amounted to 36,709l. *; with regard to the former, it is enough to observe, that,

however

* The actual annual grant to the trustees of the linen and hempen manufacture is 23,600l. besides appropriated duties; making in the whole about 24,000l. a sum which might

however they might have failed in bringing the linen manufacture to its utmost perfection, and in precluding those frauds and injurious practices, originating in avarice, which tended to bring it frequently into disrepute in foreign markets, they had the effect of rendering it ultimately a source of prodigious wealth. So that the province of Ulster, in which chiefly it is still carried on †, seems likely to fulfil the following prediction, hazarded by Sir John Davies in compliment to King James the First: "When this plantation (that of the British protestants in the province of Ulster) hath taken root and bin fixed and setled but a few yeares with the favour and blessing of God, it will secure the peace of Ireland, assure it to the crown of England for ever; and finally make it a civill and a rich, a mighty and a flourishing Kingdome †".

The table, marked No. VII. in the Appendix, is sufficiently comprehensive to convey an adequate idea of the progress of this valuable manufacture; the protection whereof is almost the only service of the Irish parliament anterior to 1778, which can rescue it from the imputation of having abandoned the commercial welfare of Ireland.

By this table it plainly appears that the linen manufacture of Ireland has thriven exceedingly, although its rival manufacture in Britain was not only not suppressed, but freely admitted as a competitor in the Irish market. It has thriven much more than the cherished and boasted woollen manufacture of England; for, according to Mr. Chalmers, the value of the woollens exported from England, on an average of the years 1699-1700-1701, was 2,561,615l.; on an average of the years 1769-70-71, 4,323,463l.,

might be expended with much better ultimate effect in improving the system of husbandry in Ireland. And, in truth, if the farmers, in their turn, do not experience the bounty of government, they will have abundant reason to complain. But they are, for the most part, *Papists* forsooth; and the weavers are mostly protestants. When shall we see an end of this political fatuity, to speak of it in the mildest terms? The linen manufacture, valuable as it is, has certainly been bolstered up long enough. It is high time that the great manufacture of the land should be attended to. To give about 20 times more to the former than to the latter * cannot be justified; but the converse easily might.

† The immunities enjoyed exclusively by protestant weavers, wheel-makers, flax-dressers, and others under 19 G. II. c. 6. probably contributed to confine the linen manufacture in a great degree to the province of Ulster; where the protestants of the lower class were much more numerous in proportion to the Roman Catholics than in the other provinces.

† Hist. Tracts, p. 192.

* See Reports of the Commissioners of Account.

and

and on an average of the years 1790-1-2, 5,056,733l. *: and according to the accounts presented to parliament immediately previous to the Union, the value thereof, on an average of three years ended in 1799, was 7,771,808l. Whereas the quantity of linen annually exported from Ireland, during the period ended in 1712, was 1,439,833 yards, and that exported during the period ended in 1792 was 37,663,748 yards. So that the export of woollens from England was little more than trebled in about 100 years; but the export of linens from Ireland was nearly thrice trebled in a period of 70 years. Why the English woollen manufacture could not have thriven as much as it has done, in the event of its rival manufacture in Ireland being suffered to flourish, and to enter the British market as freely as the people of Ireland were compelled to let the linens of Britain enter their market, is a question whereof the decision must be left to the ingenuity of monopolizers. That it did thrive, notwithstanding the rivalry of France, strengthened inconsiderately by the repression of that of Ireland, is a fact which will be found to embarrass the decision of this question not a little †.

By the compact of 1698, the people of Ireland did unquestionably acquire a right to adopt, if they thought proper, for the encouragement of their linen manufacture, the very same expedients which England might adopt for the encouragement of her woollens. They had as good a right to demand the abolition of rivalry on the part of England in the case of the linen, as England had to preclude imperiously all rivalry, on that of Ireland, in the case of the woollen manufactures. But the exercise of any right on the part of Ireland, which, even in speculation, was likely to prove in the least degree prejudicial to the most trivial manufacture of England, was utterly inconsistent with that illiberal and impolitic system which the latter pursued with regard to the former; and in which the Irish parliament basely concurred: a system constituted of acts completely obstructive of every species of Irish competition in the English market; restrictive of almost every species of mercantile and manufacturing industry in Ireland; and corroborative of that English competition, in the Irish market, which tended to foster every infant manufacture of England, and to

* Estimate of the Strength of Great Britain, p. 208.

† It is well known that the woollen manufactures of France were essentially served by the clandestine importation of Irish wool.

overwhelm

overwhelm every similar one in Ireland. Whenever any manufacture or branch of industry in England was thought to require encouragement, the Irish parliament readily imposed duties on similar ones from other countries, admitting those from Britain duty free. Whenever the exigencies of the Irish government required the imposition of duties on merchandize imported, the British were uniformly exempted. And whenever an infant manufacture in Ireland seemed likely to rival a similar one in Britain, the same practice was pursued; thus opening a field for the usual efficacy of superior British capitals in overpowering the unaided industry of Ireland.

The exemption of British cambricks, lawns, muslins, towelling, painted and stained linens, from the import duties occasionally imposed on these articles, has already been noticed, and also the patient conduct of the Irish Parliament with regard to the glass manufacture, hops, &c. Among the other acts of that legislature, in conformity with the established system, were the following ones, viz. 3 G. II. c. 2, which imposed duties on all silk manufactures except those of Great Britain, or the East Indies—11 G. II. c. 1, which imposed duties on stuffs called Romals and on all cotton manufactures except British—21 G. II. c. 1, which prohibited the importation of gold and silver lace except British—23 G. II. c. 2, which imposed duties on all velvets except British—33 G. II. c. 1, which imposed a duty on all paper except British—13 & 14 G. III. c. 2, which imposed a duty of 5l. per cent, on various goods and manufactures not the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain—11 & 12 G. III. c. 1, which imposed a duty on all herrings except British, and 15 & 16 G. III. c. 3, which imposed a duty of two shillings the barrel on wheat, when the price at home did not exceed 26 shillings, and one shilling the cwt. of flour imported, except British. To this might be added 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19, which admitted the wheat of Britain into the Irish market, under a duty of two-pence the barrel, and flour under a duty of two-pence the cwt. when wheat, imported from other countries, was liable to a duty of 19s. the barrel, and other grains in proportion.

At the time of passing the act, which exempted from duty the silk manufactures of Great Britain, there were, according to the evidence given before the Irish parliament in 1784, 800 silk looms at work in Ireland. Thirty-six years after there were but 50: and thus 3,000 persons were driven

driven to beggary or emigration. In consequence of the establishment of the silk warehouse, which seems as attributable to an anxiety to preclude the alarming disturbances which frequently happened among the starving silk manufacturers in Dublin, as to any other cause, 1,528 broad silk looms, 1,171 ribbon looms and 79 engines were at one time employed; and supported 11,270 persons; the value of whose labour was computed to amount to 140,000l. a year. But the increased importation of silk manufactures from England had thrown out of employment 780 looms in 1783; and thus deprived 3,120 persons of their usual means of support.

At the time of passing the act which exempted British cottons from duty, viz. the year 1737, the cotton manufacture of Great Britain was in its infancy; the quantity of cotton wool imported having been, on an average of five years with 1720, only 2,173,287; and in 46 years after, viz. in the year 1783, no more than 11,000,000lbs. which, by the way, was greatly under three times as much as the cotton, wool and yarn imported, in the year ended in 1808, into Ireland, which still imports cotton manufactures to a considerable amount*; and cannot as yet be regarded as deriving an augmentation of wealth from the exportation thereof. This exemption would probably have had the effect of preventing the cotton manufacture from thriving in Ireland, even if the Irish had been permitted to import the raw material directly from the place of its growth; but this permission they did not enjoy before the year 1779. The small amount of the collected duties on silk, cotton, and paper proves that the duties imposed on these articles were sufficient to give a decisive advantage to British over foreign industry, in the Irish market. The total amount of the duty on silk manufactures from the year 1732 to 1783 inclusive, was only 7,105l. 19s. 7d. the total amount of the old additional duty on cottons and romals, from 1738 to 1789, was only 3,574l. 8s. and the total amount of the duty on paper, from 1761 to 1789, was 17,058l. 16s. 1d.

In short, almost all the acts affecting the trade and manufactures of Ireland, which passed in the British and Irish parliaments, anterior to 1779,

* See table marked IX in the Appendix.

except

except those, in the latter, which related to the linen manufacture, will be found to aim at promoting the commercial welfare of Britain, exclusively; at restricting the trade, and suppressing the manufactures of Ireland; or at precluding all commercial reciprocity between the two countries.

Even after the Irish, by a bold exertion of national spirit, had obtained a free trade, and established the legislative independence of their country, subserviency to the selfish commercial views of Britain still distinguished the conduct of the Irish parliament; for with the schedule of unfair duties, already noticed, before their eyes, they negatived, by a majority of 94 to 32, the following amendment proposed to be made, on the 11th May 1784, to a resolution for an address to the Lord Lieutenant for his wife and just administration: "And to entreat His Excellency to take into his serious consideration the distressed state of the manufactures of this country, and to assure him of the confidence we place in his wisdom to lay the same fully before His Majesty's ministers in England, and to co-operate with them in forming a more liberal arrangement of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland on the broad basis of reciprocal advantage; a measure which would doubtless tend to the mutual prosperity of both kingdoms by more closely uniting them in interest and affection." The effects of this conduct still continue; no manufacture but that of linen standing conspicuous among the Irish exports.

SECTION IV.

Irish Acts of an illusive and inefficacious Nature, professing to aim at the Attainment of public Benefits.

THROUGHOUT the greater part of the last century, as was before observed, the Parliament of Ireland was not merely regardless of the welfare of two-thirds of the Irish community, but may fairly be considered as in a state of hostility with them. The remaining third was too insufficient, in point of numeral strength, compared with the population of the empire, to excite any great degree of legislative solicitude in its behalf. Besides the exclusive distribution of all honours and offices among the individuals who constituted this minority of the Irish people, the habitual connivance at those public jobs, peculations, and other fraudulent practices in which they alone were engaged, the rigorous laws which were passed to quiet their industriously revived apprehensions with regard to the enterprizes of their compatriot enemies, and the illusive acts which are to be considered in this section, had conjointly the effect of preventing those murmurs which might otherwise have broken forth. The credulous and unthinking many were for a long time taught to confide in the patriotism and prudence of the parliament, by the sharp-sighted few who were bribed to deceive them, and interested in so doing.

Of the acts in question, those which professed to aim at the encouragement of tillage in Ireland seem particularly worthy of attention, not only on account of the paramount importance of that pursuit, but because they will be found to furnish indisputable evidence of the truth of this assertion, that, notwithstanding appearances, the real welfare of Ireland was far from being the governing principle of the Irish legislature, so long as it continued in a state of subordination to that of Great Britain, and subject to the controul of the privy council of the latter, as well as that of its own, the creature and coadjutor thereof*.

* The reader will find the whole corn-trade of Ireland, since the beginning of the last century, fully illustrated in the tables marked I. II. III. IV. in the Appendix.

It is true that some of these acts, if compared with the rest, will appear inadmissible among the illusive acts of the Irish Parliament; but, if compared with those extensively beneficial acts which shall be considered in another section, the reader will, no doubt, concur in the propriety of their admission into this. Besides, by concentrating all the acts which effected the tillage of Ireland, antecedently to the time at which it began to be efficaciously encouraged, a more connected and satisfactory view will be afforded of that peculiarly important subject, than if these acts were brought under consideration apart from each other, according to their respective shades of difference.

From the beginning of the last century till about the year 1732, the industry of the Irish appears to have been voluntarily directed to tillage, with a view to export, much more than it was subsequently to that year, and anterior to the year 1776, probably owing, in a great degree, to the then condition of its trade and manufactures, which was by no means such as to afford sufficient employment to the industrious and laborious part of the community. The woollen manufacture was rapidly declining under the repeated attacks of Britain; the linen manufacture was in its infancy; the manufacture of iron was lost by the waste of timber; the importation of cattle and provisions into England had been declared a nuisance; in short, the Irish seemed necessitated to betake themselves to tillage.

The average annual excess of corn and meal exported beyond that which was imported, during the period which ended in 1708, when the first tillage act began to operate, was, as appears by the table marked IV. in the Appendix, 48,248 barrels; whereas the smallest annual excess of corn and meal imported beyond that which was exported subsequently to 1732, and antecedently to 1776, was 11,824 barrels; the greatest 255,567; and the average annual excess during 20 years, ended in 1764, 150,895 barrels.

The first act which passed in Ireland, purporting to be for the encouragement of tillage, was 6 A. c. 18 (year 1707). The preamble to this act says, "Forasmuch as it hath been found by experience that the exportation of corn and grain into foreign parts, when the price thereof is at a low rate, hath been a great advantage, not only to the owners of the land, but to the trade of the kingdom in general; may it

please Your Majesty," &c. There is a slight degree of ambiguity in this preamble, from whence it might be inferred, that Ireland had already derived considerable benefit from the exportation of corn. The fact however is, as the references in the margin of the act shew, that the discovery was made in England, from whence, under the bounties of 1 W. & M. c. 12, there were exported annually, during a period of six years, ending with 1707, on an average, 289,304 *quarters* of all sorts of corn, flour, and meal, beyond what was imported *, which was near four times as much as ever was exported from Ireland in any period antecedent to that which ended in 1788, when the liberal bounties of 1784 had begun to take effect. And yet, with the exception of two periods of five years each, it was the smallest, and, with the additional exception of a third period of four years, by far the smallest annual excess of exportation that had taken place from England from the first year of the last century till the conclusion of the period ending in 1764.

But that it was far from the intention of the Irish legislature, notwithstanding the words of the preamble just cited, to employ in Ireland the experience obtained in England, will sufficiently appear by a comparative view of the acts 1 W. & M. c. 12, and 6 A. c. 18. By the former of these acts the English obtained bounties of five shillings the quarter on wheat exported, when the price thereof was at or under 48 shillings, three shillings and sixpence on rye when at or under 32 shillings, and two shillings and sixpence on malt when at or under 24 shillings. But by the latter the Irish obtained no more than one shilling and sixpence the quarter on wheat, ground or unground, when the price was at or under *fourteen* shillings; one shilling on barley, bere, or malt, when at or under *ten* shillings; and one shilling on rye, ground or unground, when at or under *nine* shillings.

During a period of 22 years, ending with 1707, and commencing three years before the bounties were granted, the medium price of wheat in England, as drawn from the different periods in Mr. Chalmers's table, was 33s. 11½d. the quarter, or about 14 shillings below the exporting price. What price it bore in Ireland, about the time of passing the act before-mentioned, the writer has not been able to ascertain; but may safely venture to presume, that it was not 20 shillings less than in England; and, conse-

* Chalmers's Estimate, p. 322.

quently, that the Irish could not have the benefit of the proffered bounty, small as it was; and, consequently, that the act was merely illusive*. The price of the statute quarter of middling wheat in England, for 109 years, ending with 1794, does not appear to have reached 48 shillings, the exporting price, except during the four years which ended with 1711, when its average price was 49s. 9d. But there will be found very few periods, throughout the last century, during which the middle price of wheat in Ireland was so low as 14 shillings the quarter, the price at which the exporters were entitled to demand the bounty. During the 24 years which succeeded the passing of the act 6 A. c. 18, the quantity of barley and malt exported from Ireland was only 707,371 quarters, and that of wheat only 223,310 quarters. The former of these, if exported at or under ten shillings the quarter, would have been productive of a premium amounting to 35,368l. 11s.; the latter, at or under 14 shillings, a premium of 16,748l. 5s., making together 52,116l. 16s. Whereas the premiums paid on *all sorts* of corn exported, between the years 1707 and 1732, amounted to no more, as appears by the returns to parliament, than 18,035l. 7s. 8d. or little more than one-third of the premium to which the barley, malt, and wheat alone would have been entitled, if exported at the prescribed prices: a sufficient proof that these prices were far from being the ordinary

* Sir William Petty, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, p. 314-15, says, the price of wheat in Ireland in 1641 was 12 shillings the *barrel*, and in 1652, 50 shillings. Mr. Rye, in a little tract on agriculture, published in 1730, calls 12 shillings the *barrel* of wheat, a *saving* price. Mr. Pierfon, in a little tract of the same nature, published the same year, considers 15 shillings the *barrel* as the middle price. In another little tract of Mr. Pierfon's the price of wheat is stated to be 10 shillings. In a return to the House of Lords, in 1737, the price of wheat-meal is stated to be 1l. the barrel of 20 stones. The average of these different prices, exclusive of that in 1652, which was occasioned by the devastation of the war then terminated, and exclusive of the wheat-meal, is about 19s. 7d. per quarter of 32 stones, on a supposition that the barrel of wheat then weighed 20 stones, which does not appear to have been the case. If the barrel was reckoned as half the quarter, the price was 1l. 4s. 8d. per quarter. The *highest* price of the quarter of wheat, of *nine* bushels, in the Windsor market, in 1641, was, as appears in Dr. Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. i. p. 265, 2l. 8s. 0d.; the *highest* price in the year 1730, 1l. 16. 6d. the medium of which is 2l. 2s. 3d. or 17s. 7d. more than the *average* price in Ireland. The average price of middling wheat was 1l. 17s. 7d. the statute quarter, during a period of five years, ending with 1729, as appears in Mr. Chalmers's table; but during the preceding years it was only 1l. 8s. 10d. The medium of which is 1l. 13s. 2½d. or 8s. 6½d. more than in Ireland.

prices

prices in Ireland even at that early part of the century. Subsequently to 1732, during forty-eight years, the import greatly exceeded the export of corn from Ireland, except in the period of four years ending in 1740, and even after the bounty had been raised. During 15 years, ending in 1773, the average price of wheat in Ireland was 50 shillings the quarter.

But there was another circumstance which contributed to render the parsimonious bounties of the act in question utterly inefficacious, with reference to the encouragement of tillage; and that was their not being accompanied, as those in England were, by high duties on the importation of corn. By 22 C. II. c. 13, wheat imported into England, when the price did not exceed 53s. 4d. the quarter, was liable to a duty of 16 shillings the quarter; rye not exceeding 40s. to a similar duty; and also barley and malt, not exceeding 32 shillings; and oats to a duty of 5s. 4d. the quarter, when not exceeding 16 shillings. These bounties and these duties had conjointly the effect of encouraging the English farmer, by insuring to him a reasonable price for his corn, and precluding that competition which, notwithstanding the ingenious reasoning of the celebrated Dr. Smith, might be shewn to be, in certain respects, peculiarly prejudicial in the farming business*. They had also the effect of insuring to the consumers a regular and ample supply of corn at a moderate rate.

But the home-market of Ireland was too contracted for the corn which, consistently with reasonable profit to the grower, the country was competent to supply. The Irish bounties, at the prices at which they were to be given, were evidently insufficient to attract to agriculture any considerable share of the capital and industry of the rural people of Ireland, with the view of supplying foreign markets; and the want of duties on import left those who happened to engage in it exposed to the discouraging effects of competition. Hence, agriculture became in Ireland a precarious and, generally, unprofitable pursuit; and the consumers of corn were eventually subjected to great occasional distresses.

In consequence, probably, of the landlords having experienced, in the payment of their rents, the effects of the former circumstance, they fell

* If the nature of the farming business be duly compared with that of any manufacture, it will be found that much of the reasoning which might be employed in behalf of competition in the latter case, is inadmissible in the former. But this is not a fit place for the discussion of this question.

very generally into the practice of restraining their tenants from ploughing. This necessarily tended to aggravate and render more frequent the distresses of such consumers as were not occupiers or owners of land. In the year 1727, as appears by a letter from archbishop Boulter, one of the lords justices, to lord Carteret, dated July 20th in that year, "the kingdom," to use his Grace's words, "laboured under a terrible scarcity, next to a famine." In order to prevent a recurrence of which, and to which, his Grace adds, "Ireland is liable upon any the least accident in the harvest," he announces his intention to forward a bill, imposing an obligation on the occupiers of land to plough five acres in every 100. This projected bill appears to have been for some time a subject of discussion between the lord justice and his principal correspondents in England; for, in a letter dated 24th February 1727, he apologizes for it to the archbishop of Canterbury, telling him that "it does encourage tillage by allowing any premium to exporters of corn; but barely obliges every person occupying 100 acres or more (meadows, parks, bogs, &c. excepted), to till five acres out of every 100." The assurance just quoted sufficiently indicates, that the encouragement of tillage in Ireland was very far from being the object of the British government; and that the bounties held forth by 6. A. c. 18, were not, when offered, deemed to have a tendency to the end professed, but considered as merely illusive, as well by the framers of the bill, as by those who have since examined them, with reference to their effects, and in comparison with the bounties granted in England. In fact, agriculture, being the parent of manufactures, and necessarily calculated to occasion, by its extension, a vast increase of people, the British government, under the influence of those considerations, with regard to Ireland, which operated in the early part of the last century with undiminished force, studiously either aimed at the discouragement, or resisted the encouragement of that pursuit in Ireland, while it was as studiously encouraged in England.

To draw into the hands of British manufacturers and farmers the whole of the wealth derived, by a scanty population in Ireland, from the produce of pasture and the linen manufacture, would alone have gratified the monopolizers of Britain, seconded by the statesmen of the day.

That there prevailed a wish rather to diminish, than to augment the population of Ireland, seems extremely probable. The countenance given
by

by the British government to French officers, employed in recruiting in Ireland for the army of France, is a strong evidence of such a wish * ; and a supplementary proof of it may be drawn from the readiness with which transportation to America was resorted to ; not merely for offences, but for that idleness which the restrictive and oppressive laws in question naturally occasioned. The number of convict felons and vagabonds ordered for transportation in seven years, ended in 1743, was 1,920, viz. 937 from the province of Leinster, 542 from Munster, 296 from Ulster, and 145 from Connaught. Of these, at least 432 were vagabonds ; but, probably, a great many more ; as in 12 of the returns which were made to Parliament, and of which that from Cork was one, felons and vagabonds were blended together. They sold in Maryland for 9l. 10s. per head.

The compulsory act in question, viz. 1 G. II. c. 10, required that after the 1st November 1729, every person occupying 100 acres of land at a greater distance from Dublin than five miles, should till five acres in every 100, bog, mountain, rocky, craggy, or fenny land, woodland, meadow, and parks enclosed with walls or pales excepted, notwithstanding any covenant, contract, condition, or agreement between landlord and tenant. From this requisition it may be inferred, that the quantity of land under tillage in Ireland, in 1727, was much less than computed by Sir W. Petty in 1762, or upwards of half a century before ; for, as the act required the tilling of five acres only in every 100, it is reasonable to presume that there were not at the time more than about three acres in every 100 in a state of tillage ; and as the profitable land, including meadows and parks, did not consist of more than, nor perhaps so much as eight millions of acres Irish measure, that there were not, consequently, more than 240,000 acres of ploughed land, which was 260,000 less than in the time of Sir W. Petty. Even in the year 1730, in the event of the requisition having been complied with, there could not have been more than 400,000 acres in tillage, which was 100,000 short of the number computed by Sir W. Petty.

This extraordinary act appears to have had but little efficacy in supplying the home-market, during three years which succeeded it ; for

* See archbishop Boulter's letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated October 14th, 1730. This practice is spoken of more at large in the inquiry into the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland.

though.

though the average annual surplus of corn exported, exceeded the quantity imported, it fell short of the excess of exported over imported corn, during any period but two, from the beginning of the century. Subsequently to the year 1732, it appears to have been wholly inefficacious; the quantity of corn imported having exceeded that which was exported during 40 years, with the exception of one period of four years ended in 1740. Its operation must indeed have been, in some degree, counteracted by the suppression of the tithe agistment, or tithe on dry and barren cattle; an event which may be considered as tantamount to giving a premium to the grazier. This tithe, with which the Irish landlords had been for some time dissatisfied, fell under discussion in the House of Commons on the 18th of March 1735; when a resolution was carried by 110 against 50, declaring it to be "grievous, burdensome, and *injurious to the Protestant interest* *." That it was more grievous or burdensome than any other tithe may well be questioned; that it was injurious to the *Protestant interest* can hardly be believed by those who perceive how eminently so its suppression has proved. Parochial unions were thereby rendered more necessary than before, in order to afford suitable maintenance to the clergy †. The number of pastors was eventually diminished, and the difficulty of performing the pastoral duties of course increased. Besides, the splendid incomes which, in consequence of the great recent increase of tillage, several of the clergy came at length to derive from their benefices, naturally allured them, in many instances, into certain modes of living by no means favourable to the extension of the Protestant religion. But in the early part of the last century, few measures, however objectionable, were resisted, with which the Protestant interest could, even by sophistical reasoning, be linked; nor does the delusion seem as yet to be wholly dissipated. The Protestant interest is still successfully employed as a subterfuge by those who act under no other impulse than the *amor sceleratus habendi*.

A few years after passing the obligatory act which has just been dismissed, there passed one, viz. 5 G. II. c. 8, the object thereof was rather to assist the linen and hempen manufactures, than to promote the tillage of Ire-

* This tithe was finally abolished by 40 G. III. c. 23.

† The number of parishes in Ireland is 2,436; the number of benefices or unions, 1,120; the number of churches, 1,001; and the number of glebe-houses, 355.

land. It exempted from tithe, waste land employed in the culture of flax, hemp, or rape. And twenty-four years after, the inefficacy of compulsion with regard to tillage being fully proved, as may be seen in the corn tables in the Appendix, which shew that the excess of corn imported beyond that which was exported had become unprecedentedly great, recourse was had to an act of a remunerative nature; but how far calculated to attain the end professed, the reader may judge by the bounties it offers, without looking for its effects in the tables in the Appendix. The fact is, those who exercised the powers of government in Ireland, occasionally wished to preclude the distresses of the Irish people, by securing a sufficient home supply of corn; but it was far from their intention to encourage the tillage of Ireland, so as to give the people the full benefits resulting from a spirited pursuit thereof.

The act in question, viz. 29 G. II. c. 9, begins with a truth which ought to have operated more efficaciously on the Irish legislature than it did. The truth alluded to is thus expressed in the preamble of the act; "whereas a liberty of exporting grain, under proper regulations, will be a great means of promoting tillage, and thereby preventing the extreme necessity to which the poor of this kingdom have been too frequently reduced, through want of provisions, &c."

The encouragement which the act then holds forth, consists in the following paltry bounties, viz. two shillings the quarter on wheat exported, not exceeding 24 shillings; one shilling and six-pence on rye not exceeding 14 shillings; the same on bere, barley, and malt not exceeding 12 shillings; and one shilling on oats not exceeding six shillings. The quarters of wheat and rye to weigh *forty* stones; the quarters of bere and barley, 24 stones; the quarter of malt, 20 stones, and the quarter of oats, 22 stones. The framers of the act certainly could not have believed that these bounties, unaccompanied as they were by duties on corn imported, were calculated to promote the tillage of Ireland; nor can it be conceived that any intelligent person could be thus persuaded. The bounty on wheat was little more than one-fourth of that which was granted in England 67 years before: and the exporting price at which that bounty could be obtained was not much more than one-third of the price at which the bounty could be obtained in England; nor was it more than one half of the average price of wheat in Ireland at the time of passing the act: whereas the
average

average price of wheat in England, about the time of passing the first bounty act there, was little more than half the price at which it could be exported under the bounty. The same observations are applicable to rye, and nearly so to barley. The English act, it is true, held forth no bounty on the exportation of oats or barley; but those which were offered by the Irish act, besides being trivial, were illusive; as the average price of oats in Ireland was 6s. 6d. more, or upwards of twice the price at which the export bounty could be obtained; and the average price of barley was 1s. 6d. more.

Besides, it is to be observed, that this act did not in reality offer what deserved to be called a greater bounty on the exportation, at least of wheat, than was offered by the inoperative act of 6 A. c. 18, passed near half a century before: for at the time of passing the latter, corn was sold by the measures appointed by 7 W. III. c. 24, which were the peck containing two gallons of $272\frac{1}{2}$ cubical inches each, the bushel eight gallons, and so on; consequently the medium weight of the quarter of wheat was probably between 32 and 33 stones; and of course 1s. 6d. bounty in that case was nearly equal to two shillings in the case before us; the exporter getting only 2d. or 2½d. per quarter more in this than in that.

It is likewise to be observed, that as the people of Ireland had almost entirely forsaken tillage, a trifling increase of bounties, or any other than ample permanent bounties, seconded by duties on importation, were evidently insufficient to induce them to turn their capitals to that pursuit, and abandon the lazy life of the grazier.

The next tillage act, which passed, was the 31 G. II. c. 3. The primary object of this act was to supply the city of Dublin with corn, by means of bounties on the inland carriage thereof to that city*. But the framer of it had doubtless in view, as a secondary object, the encouragement of tillage in Ireland; and both these objects were attained; the latter, however, only to a certain degree. The preamble of it states that the inhabitants of Dublin had frequently been reduced to great distress for want of corn. It was there indeed that such distress was chiefly felt;

* In the early part of the last century, Dublin was one of the ports from whence the greatest quantity of corn was exported. In the year 1714, there were exported from thence 43,837 average barrels of all sorts of grain. From all Ireland 212,725.

as may be inferred from a comparative statement of the importations into it, and those into all parts of Ireland, presented to parliament some years after the act began to take effect. By this statement it appears, that from the year ended in March 1744, to that which ended in March 1733, the quantity of wheat imported into Dublin was 480,013 quarters, while that imported into all parts of Ireland was only 607,999 quarters; and that the quantity of flour imported into Dublin, during the same period, was 1,069,977 cwt. that imported into all parts of Ireland only 1,678,003.

This singular measure, which was to take effect from the first of June, 1758, though liable to considerable objections, was productive of beneficial effects. Compared with the expedient of giving a bounty on the carriage of corn coastways to Dublin, which was adopted ten years afterwards, it appeared to considerable disadvantage; and compared with the liberal and efficacious bounties on the exportation of corn, the prudent regulations respecting it, and the duties affecting its unnecessary importation, which distinguished the year 1784, and on the effects of which it will be necessary to dwell for some time, facts will shew that it had very little claim to approbation. If viewed, however, with reference to the controlling policy of Britain, with regard to Ireland, its author may be considered as entitled to some praise both for ingenuity and patriotism.

The bounties on exportation which were granted in England had the general effect of preventing scarcity from being experienced in any part of that kingdom; and it must have been sufficiently evident that similar bounties would have produced similar effects in Ireland. But had such bounties been granted in the latter, seconded by heavy duties on importation, as in the former, the corn of England would have been excluded from the market of Ireland; and would, moreover, have found a formidable rival in foreign markets; both of which circumstances would have been utterly inconsistent with that churlish impolitic system which England had long pursued, and seemed determined to pursue with regard to Ireland. Besides this act was framed much about the time when the corn trade of England was at its height, and promised to become a most important branch of commerce*. Had the expedient of granting boun-

* Excess of exports of all sorts of grain from England:

Average of 5 years ending with 1754		1,080,077 quarters.
5 years ditto 1759		273,805 ditto.
5 years ditto 1764		676,117 ditto. <i>Chalmers's Estimate</i> , p. 232.

ties on exportation, in order to insure an ample and constant supply of corn in the home market, been merely speculative, it ought to have been resorted to, for a short time at least, on account of its apparent eligibility. But it was not merely speculative. The legislature of Ireland had a full and satisfactory practical proof of its efficacy in the case of England. In 68 years ending with 1764, six years after the inland bounty began to operate in Ireland, and when the exports of corn from England, in consequence of the increased consumption at home, ceased to exceed the imports, the number of quarters of all sorts of corn exported from England, after deducting for the number imported, was 33,415,239; which, as oats were excluded from the bounty, probably brought into the country not less than 41,769,048l.; and all this time the general average price of wheat was no more than 1l. 13s. 4d. the quarter. This was, on an average, upwards of 600,000l. a year. Mr. Chalmers says that England gained a million annually. And this gain was obtained by bounties to English merchants, amounting in the whole to 5,957,085, or about 87,604l. 3s. 9d. on an average each year. In other words, the nation gained 41,769,048l. in 68 years, at an expense of 5,957,085l., paid to its own merchants, while the home consumers of corn were amply supplied. But the time was not yet come when Ireland could resort to the best expedients, even for the purpose of supplying her population with food.

During about 16 years after the inland bounty began to operate, the imports still continued to exceed the exports of corn; and would no doubt have continued much longer had not an increase of bounties on exportation taken place in 1773-4. The importation of corn was, it is true, greatly diminished by the inland bounty; but it would not only have been completely precluded, but also succeeded by a very lucrative export, if the money employed in that bounty had been expended in bounties on exportation; and the consumers of corn would have been better supplied. The amount of the inland carriage bounty, for eleven years ended in 1772, was 153,931l. The smallest average excess of corn imported beyond that which was exported, from the commencement of the bounty to the period ended in 1772, was that in the period ended in 1768, and which amounted to 71,202 barrels of all sorts of corn. The average excess of corn imported, during the period which immediately preceded that in which the bounty was granted, was 190,184 barrels, and this was the greatest average

rage excess that happened in the century, except in the period of four years ended in 1748. Now if the former be deducted from the latter, and the remainder, viz. 118,982 barrels, be taken as the average annual excess of imports precluded by the bounty, the number of barrels thus precluded will be seen to amount, in eleven years, to 1,308,802, which, estimated at 17s. the barrel, on an average, were worth 1,112,481l. 14s. So that the Irish people paid annually 13,993l. 14s. 6½d. to *save* that sum, while the English people paid 87,604l. 3s. 9d. to *gain* 614,250l. annually; and the consumers of corn were better supplied in England than in Ireland: for in the former the general average price of wheat was 1l. 13s. 4d. the quarter of 32½ stones, and in the latter 2l. 10s. the quarter of 40 stones. Ireland spent her money, like a spendthrift, to keep off demands: England laid out hers, like a merchant, to encrease wealth. When Ireland was permitted to resort to the English bounties and protecting duties she *gained*, in ten years ended in 1795, 4,042,811l. 7s. 9½d. or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. on an average each year; and there never was a more ample supply of corn in all parts of Ireland, though there had been a great scarcity of it just before.

The amount of the bounties paid for the carriage of corn to Dublin, from the year ended in 1762 to the year ended in 1784, the year in which the efficacious export bounties were granted, including canal bounties for two, and coastways bounties for five years, amounted to 882,149l. This sum, even had the greatest importation of corn that ever happened in Ireland, viz. that of the period ended in 1748, continued to be requisite throughout the period of 22 years, would not have saved the country six millions of money. But had it been applied in export bounties it would have brought into the country clear, as in England, upwards of that sum. Or rather, had the legislature of Ireland offered as liberal bounties on the exportation of corn as were granted on its transportation to Dublin, from the year 1762 to 1784 inclusive, the nation might on an average have annually *gained*, as it did subsequently to that year, 404,281l. or near nine millions in the 22 years, instead of *saving*, at the utmost, less than six millions*. Ireland would besides have enjoyed all the important benefits resulting from extensive and prosperous tillage 22 years before

* The total amount of the bounty paid on the exportation of grain from England in 36 years, beginning with the bounty and ending in 1724, was 1,580,889l. The land-carriage

before she did so; and the people would have been rescued from occasional distress, as they were after the year 1784.

In the year ended 25th March 1786, after the effective bounties on exportation were offered, there were exported from the ports of Drogheda, Dundalk and Wexford 10,606 barrels of barley and malt, 63,275 of oats, 7,774 cwt. of flour, 32,282 barrels of oatmeal, and 2,423 barrels of wheat. This, or indeed an adequate supply might have been drawn from these three ports only, by means of a bounty on the carriage of corn coastways, much lower than that which was paid on its carriage by land. But liberal bounties on exportation would have totally precluded the necessity of supplying Dublin, by granting bounties on corn brought either by land or water. In fact, we see, by a recent return to parliament, that Dublin is actually not only supplied with corn, but can export a surplus; as was the case in the early part of the last century*. From the 1st of October 1806 to the 5th of June 1807, as appears by this return, Dublin exported to England *alone*, from whence it was formerly supplied, 1,140 barrels of barley and malt, 8,095 of oats, 3,725 of wheat, 760 cwt. of flour, and 10 of oatmeal; and imported only 1,047 barrels and 4½ cwt. of all sorts of corn ground and unground.

By granting those bounties on the carriage of corn to Dublin coastways which were granted in 1780, instead of the bounties held forth in 1758 on inland carriage, Dublin would have been as amply supplied as it was, and at the rate of 1s. 5½d. per barrel cheaper. Tillage would have been drawn to the improveable sea coasts, abounding in natural manures, instead of being introduced into the luxuriant pastures in the interior of the country: and employment would have been given to a much more useful description of men than mere car-drivers. Granting bounties therefore on the inland carriage of corn, in preference to bounties on its carriage coastways, would seem to the last degree perverse and ridiculous, if the expedient were considered apart from the over-ruling policy of Britain. But, considered in conjunction therewith, it appears to have been necessary.

riage bounty, in Ireland, from its commencement to 1798, viz. 37 years, was 1,247,863l. 3s. od. The bounty on corn brought by the canal, from the commencement of the bounty in 1783 to 1798, was 303,070l. 7s. 1d. making with the land carriage bounty 1,550,933l. 10s. 1d. or nearly as much as the export bounty paid in England.

* The quantity of barley, oats, and wheat exported annually from Dublin, on an average of three years ended 25th March 1715, was equal to 31,469 barrels.

About

About the time when the bounties on inland carriage were granted, England, always prompt to sacrifice the welfare of Ireland to her own commercial avarice, was engaged in prosecuting an immense trade in corn; and from 1742 to 1764, supplied eight parts out of nine of that which the latter imported. Had bounties been granted on the carriage of corn coastways to Dublin, English corn would not only have been excluded from that market; but the encouragement thereby given to tillage all along the coast would, no doubt, have had the effect of excluding it from all the maritime towns also; or, in other words, from Ireland. This wiser expedient therefore could not then be adopted with the approbation of England; nor was it, till about 15 years after her importation had annually exceeded her exportation of corn. About three years after this reverse had taken place, viz. in the year 1767, a trifling bounty, evidently the offspring of caution, was granted on corn brought coastways to Dublin. About ten years afterwards, this reverse still continuing, a trifling augmentation of the bounty was offered. But it was not till 15 years after its commencement, and when hopes could no longer be entertained of England's recovering her former gains by the exportation of corn, that these bounties were granted which produced the desired effect.

This act, no doubt, saved the country, as before observed, a considerable sum of money. According to the evidences of Messrs. Strettle and Colville, given before Parliament, the net national gain, or rather saving, by this expedient, in a period of fifteen years subsequent to 1758, compared with a similar period antecedent to that year, amounted to 1,149,170*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* or about 76,611*l.* on an average annually. The prices of the different grains, according to the evidence of the same gentlemen, were, during the former period, as follows, viz. wheat 50 shillings per quarter; oats 12 shillings and six-pence per quarter; and barley 13 shillings and six-pence per quarter.

It also occasioned the erection of many of the finest mills, perhaps, in the world. Mr. Jebb's at Slaine, in the county of Meath, Captain Mercer's, near Loughlin-bridge, in the county of Carlow, and Mr. Moore's at Marlesfield, near Clonmell, in the county of Tipperary, were very expensive structures. In the first, 14,000 barrels of wheat were annually ground soon after it was built; in the second, 15,000, and in the third at least as much. From the commencement of the bounty, to the year 1790,

1790, viz. 31 years, there were erected no fewer than 248 mills, at the distance of from eleven to one hundred and thirty miles from Dublin; and a large majority of these cost much greater sums of money than individuals, generally speaking, had before been tempted to expend in speculations. Several country gentlemen embarked very considerable capitals in the flour business; and a vast many others were allured into the pursuit of tillage by the ready markets which these different mills afforded for its produce. The number of them from whence flour was brought to Dublin was as follows, viz.

In the Year	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.	Years.	Mills.
1768	33	1774	125	1780	145	1786	172	1792	225
1769	31	1775	137	1781	140	1787	171	1793	218
1770	81	1776	147	1782	144	1788	179	1794	210
1771	104	1777	156	1783	146	1789	200	1795	219
1772	99	1778	137	1784	158	1790	213	1796	219
1773	113	1779	139	1785	180	1791	221		

The increase in the produce of corn, occasioned by this act, appears to have induced foreign agents to come to Ireland for the purpose of procuring a supply. But the fact being known, the Irish legislature immediately passed an act, viz. 5 G. III. c. 4, to prohibit exportation, lest the people of Ireland should experience a scarcity: an evil, however, which their legislature had always studiously avoided to take the proper and only steps to prevent.

The bounty granted by this act was five-pence every five miles for every 40 stones of wheat, flour, malt, oats, barley, &c. brought from a greater distance than 10 Irish miles from Dublin. The quality of the grain and flour appears to have been overlooked, as no sworn officer was appointed to inspect it. And to that circumstance the actual general inferiority of Irish to English wheat is to be traced and ascribed.

In the third year of G. III. a short act was passed merely explanatory of the foregoing one. By the 7 G. III. c. 12, a bounty was given on corn, &c. brought by land to Dublin from a greater distance than five miles; and an additional bounty of one halfpenny per mile was given on every 40 stones of unground corn. By the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17, the principal object whereof was the exportation of corn, no bounty was to be paid on flour brought by land, unless, on oath being made; that it was good and merchantable; and *bonâ fide* sold, without practice or collusion, for six shil-

lings per hundred at least. By this act also the bounty on flour, wheat, and malt brought by land carriage, was lowered, with the view of inducing the transmission of these by the grand canal, the grain and flour brought by which were entitled, by 17 & 18 G. III. c. 29, to two-thirds of the land-carriage bounty; the oatmeal to the full amount thereof. In addition to these acts for supplying Dublin with Irish corn, there were passed three others; the second and third of which may be considered as amendments to the first, and all of them merely as an improvement of the means of supplying the Dublin market with the surplus produce of the distant parts of Ireland. The acts alluded to, were the 7 G. III. c. 4, by which a bounty of 4d. per cwt. was granted on flour, wheat, &c. brought coastways to Dublin, from any place between Wicklow and the Tuscar rock to the southward, and between Drogheda and Carrickfergus to the northward; and 5d. from any place south of the Tuscar rock, or north of Carrickfergus; and likewise a bounty of 4d. per cwt. on corn, &c. brought coastways from any place south of Cooley Point, near Carlingford, to Belfast Newry or Londonderry.—The 17 & 18 G. III. c. 34, by which 4d. per cwt. was granted for corn, and 12d. for flour brought from between Wicklow and the Tuscar, or Drogheda and Carrickfergus; and 5d. per cwt. on corn, and 1s. 2d. per cwt. on flour brought from any place south of the Tuscar, or north of Carrickfergus. In this act, by the way, it is observed, that bounties on the carriage of corn coastways would tend to lessen the expense of those on inland carriage; a notable and early discovery truly. The third act alluded to, was the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 34, by which bounties of 10d. per cwt. of grain, and 1s. 6d. per cwt. of malt or flour of wheat, were granted on all brought coastways from between Doonagh-head, in the county of Donegal, and Cape Clear, in the county of Cork. The effects of these different acts will be seen in the table in the Appendix, marked V.

The next act of an illusive nature, relative to the tillage of Ireland, was 5 G. III. c. 19. This act seems also to have been the effect of dictated caution. It passed in the first year of the first period in which the importation of corn into England exceeded the exportation from thence. It granted a bounty of 8d. per hundred on wheat exported, when not exceeding six shillings, which was just half the bounty granted in England
seventy

seventy-seven years before ; and half the exporting price, and, probably, not so high as the medium price at the time in Ireland *. It also granted 5d. per hundred on barley exported, when not exceeding three shillings and nine-pence, which likewise was not more than one-half of the English bounty and exporting price of malt, there being no bounty on the exportation of barley from England. Besides these, it granted a bounty of 5d. per hundred on oats exported, when not exceeding three shillings; which was equal to about 1s. 1½d. the quarter, when at 6s. 9d., which was much below the then medium price of oats in the Irish market. On flour and meal it granted no bounty; nor was it assisted by proper duties on importation.

The 5 G. III. c. 18., which accompanied this act, though not originating in the same considerations which appear to have influenced the framers of the foregoing acts, is too analogous to them in nature and effect to be referred for another place. It offered premiums of from 8l. to 50l. to such landholders or farmers, in each county, as preserved the greatest quantity of corn on stands, four feet high, with flag-stones on top. No person, however, could obtain a premium unless he had, at the least, 100 barrels of corn on his stand. To the person who should have the greatest quantity between that number and 200, a premium of 8l. was allotted; and other proportionate premiums were offered, the highest in the scale being 50l. for the greatest quantity above 500 barrels. The barrels of wheat, meslin, and rye were to weigh 20 stones; barley and bere 16, and oats 14. The smallest quantity for which a premium could be obtained implied, if potatoes and fallow-ground be included, about 25 acres English measure, in a state of tillage in the occupation of one person, which, there is reason to suspect, was rarely the case. And if so, the framers of the act either betrayed downright ignorance of the state of the country; or had not really in view the object which they professed to aim at.

* The general average price of wheat in England, from 1759 to 1764 inclusive, being about 30s. 8d. the quarter, the price thereof in Ireland, which was chiefly supplied by England, must then have been greater, as the bounty on export did little more than pay the expenses of freight, commission, &c. And that such was the case may be seen by the evidence before quoted.

Thirty-six years only had elapsed since the enactment of the law requiring landholders to plough five acres in every 100, meadows, parks, rough ground, &c. excepted; and this law appears to have totally lost its efficacy a few years after its enactment. Moreover 30 years only had elapsed since the suppression of the tithe agistment; an event which may be considered in the light of a sort of bounty on pasturage. Ireland, besides, was annually importing large quantities of corn, and exporting very small ones. It was more a land of pasture than it had been since the commencement of the century. The quantity of beef and butter exported, during eight years ended in 1768, was, as appears by the table in the Appendix, marked VI., greater than had been before exported during a period of equal extent. In the year 1763, two years after passing this act, there were slaughtered in Cork alone, according to a return made to the writer by the late collector, Mr. Shaw, 63,000 oxen and cows for exportation. The price of beef, in that city, in 1760, as appears by the private letter of a merchant, then written, and now in the writer's possession, was considered high at 13s. 6d. per cwt. Eighteen years before that, when 75,000 head of cattle were slaughtered in one year in Cork, the price of beef was so low as 5s. 10d. per cwt. The price of small beef in Waterford, in 1760, according to the letter before-mentioned, was from 7s. 6d. to 8s. per cwt. and that of butter 24s. The price of butter in Cork, four years after, was, on an average of the months of July and November, 36s. per cwt. These facts sufficiently attest the then prevalence of pasture in Ireland, and the contracted state of its tillage; and authorize a belief that 25 acres of tillage were rarely found in the occupation of any individual but a gentleman of considerable fortune resident in the country. Accordingly, 7,484l. out of 12,800l. granted for premiums to be distributed in two years ended 1st January 1768, remained unclaimed: and an act, viz. 7 G. III. c. 28, passed for giving greater premiums for a smaller quantity of wheat preserved on the prescribed stands; the lowest premium being 10l. for 1,000 stones, or 50 barrels; and likewise premiums of from 5l. to 15l. to the five farmers, in each county, holding not more than 40 acres, who should have the greatest quantity of corn thus preserved, without limitation as to the number of stones or barrels. The 13 & 14 G. III. c. 11, though it offered greater bounties on exportation than any of the foregoing acts, viz. three shillings and four-pence British per quarter of

of 32 stones on wheat; the same on meal and flour, and one shilling and three-pence per quarter of 22 stones on oats exported, may be considered as almost equally illusive; for the exporting price of wheat at which the bounty was claimable, was one shilling British the stone, or 32 shillings the quarter, and that of oats nine shillings the quarter. But the average price of the former in the Irish market, for 15 years, ended in 1773, was, according to the evidences of Messrs. Strettle and Colville, 50 shillings per quarter; and that of the latter 12 shillings and six-pence*. This act likewise left the growers of corn exposed to the discouraging effects of competition in the home market. In the following session, a duty of one shilling was imposed, by 15 & 16 G. III. c. 3, on every cwt. of bread, flour, and biscuit, and two shillings on every barrel of wheat imported, except British, when the price did not exceed 23 shillings. But as the price did generally exceed 23 shillings, and as the people of England were the most likely to be the suppliers of the Irish market, these duties could be of little or no avail: nor were they probably imposed with any other view, than merely to excite an expectation of future support among those wealthy individuals who had been induced by the bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin, to expend very considerable sums in the erection of mills.

The preamble of the 5 G. III. c. 19. sets out with saying, "whereas the laws heretofore made for the encouragement of tillage in this kingdom have not had the desired effect." The preamble of the act just noticed says the same thing, after observing upon the expediency of the encouragement of tillage, *in order to enable the people to support the necessary expenses of His Majesty's establishments*; and yet the framers of this last act studiously declined to hold forth those encouragements which they well knew could alone have had the ostensibly intended effect. The uninterruptedly beneficial effects of the English bounties and regulations, for near 70 years, were before their eyes; and yet, to these bounties and regulations they still persisted in declining to resort. Why? Evidently because they were either compelled or bribed to debar their country from participating those benefits which England had enjoyed, and still hoped to enjoy exclusively.

* From the report of the committee on the inland carriage of corn, 12th March 1774. Whether the quarter of 32 or 40 stones be meant in the evidence does not appear.

In the midst of these illusive and inefficacious, limited and inadequate acts, there passed one, viz. 12 & 13 G. III. c. 21, of a somewhat different complexion, and which may be considered in a twofold view. It granted permission to *papists* to take leases, not exceeding 61 years, of tracts of bog, not exceeding 50 plantation acres, and *half an acre* of arable adjoining the bog, for the site of a house, or for the purpose of delving for gravel or limestone for manure. This extremely parsimonious act, though liable to both ridicule and reprehension, was not, however, ill calculated to induce agricultural improvement, and to increase the Roman Catholic population; besides being the prelude to the abrogation of those tyrannical, impolitick, and ruinous laws which so long repressed the industry of the Roman Catholics, and by so doing, conduced, with other laws, to render nearly abortive the various and signal natural advantages of Ireland: an abrogation which soon had the effect of increasing their numbers and their wealth with wonderful rapidity, and giving them, eventually, a degree of importance in every political estimate of the empire, greater than most people suppose, or than many are disposed to allow; but which *facts* are not wanting to evince.

The 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17. placed Ireland nearly upon a par with England in respect of the corn trade. But what were the conditions of the two countries when that act passed? The people of Ireland were united. Upwards of 40,000 Irish volunteers boldly demanded a redress of grievances, and an exemption from oppression; and the Irish legislature was constrained at length to pursue its proper object, the welfare of the country.

On the other hand, England was reduced by the American war to such a state of debility, as rendered it prudent to yield to the just demands of the Irish; and she had moreover ceased, for fifteen years, to derive a balance on her trade in corn.

The several temporary acts which passed in, and subsequent to, the session of 1781-2, transferring to the growers of flax and hemp, the premiums which had antecedently been granted to the importers of these seeds, were calculated to hold forth encouragement to tillage, as well as to provide against accidental deficiencies of the raw material of the linen manufacture*.

* The average annual amount of the bounties granted on the importation of flax-seed for eight years, ended 25th March 1779, was 7,250 l. 5s. 1½d.

Before we proceed to the consideration of the other illusive acts of the Irish legislature, it seems not amiss, in the first place, to repeat that the encouragement held forth to Irish tillage was proportionate to the decline of the English corn trade, being trivial in and before 1773, or about eight years after England had ceased to gain, great in 1780, or about 15 years after, and ample and effectual in 1784, or when England had abandoned all hopes of again becoming the granary of other countries. And, in the next place, to observe that the example of Ireland affords a full, unequivocal, and convincing evidence of the great utility of corn bounties, notwithstanding all that has been ingeniously urged against them by interested, timid, or biased individuals: for during 40 years, when no effectual bounty was granted on corn exported, Ireland, notwithstanding the inland carriage bounty, was, with the exception of one period of four years, annually under the necessity of purchasing corn from other countries, and her people were frequently distressed; but subsequently to the year 1784, when she enjoyed the encouragement of liberal bounties, she has annually sold corn abroad to a great amount, and her rapidly increasing people have ceased to experience distress.

The acts which purported to be for the encouragement of internal navigation, the second great object which a wise and patriotic legislature should keep in view, appear to have been almost as illusive and were, in fact, almost as ineffectual as those which purported to be for the encouragement of tillage.

The 2 G. I. c. 12., after expatiating, in the preamble, at considerable length on the many obvious benefits derivable, particularly in Ireland, from internal navigation, proceeds to means for attaining those benefits which, in the then circumstances, or even in the present circumstances of Ireland, were most unlikely to prove efficacious. Four gentlemen, George Frizell, Henry Croftal, Samuel Eyre, and John Ringrose, were in the first instance, empowered to make the river Shannon navigable from Limerick to Carrick-drumrusk, a space of upwards of 100 English miles, at their proper costs and charges; and were authorized to demand four-pence per ton per mile on all goods, wares, and merchandize. The undertaking, which, on account of the general navigableness of the Shannon, was very far from being extraordinarily operose or expensive, was, however, soon discovered to be beyond their ability. The tolls which they were authorized

rized to demand were evidently high enough to discourage the people from sending their goods by the river, had there been any abundance of goods to convey from one part of the country to another, or capital any where to create that abundance; the contrary of both which was the case; and yet the difficulty of procuring money to carry on the work under 8 per cent. seemed to render such high tolls indispensable. In the year 1703, the interest of money was reduced to 8l. per cent. *; in the year 1721, six years after passing this act, to 7l. per cent. †; and in the year 1731, to 6l. per cent. ‡. But in England, this last was the legal interest in 1660 §, and 5l. per cent. the legal interest in 1713 ¶, before which the inland navigation of that country appears to have but little attracted the attention of individuals. The same act which empowered these four undertakers to complete the navigation of the river Shannon, at their own expense, appointed, as commissioners, the then members of parliament, and justices of the peace for each county adjoining the intended navigations formerly mentioned ||, and empowered them to agree with undertakers to complete the works within seven years.

Had the then condition of Ireland been propitious to the pursuit of internal navigation, the appointment of such a multitude of commissioners who had no capitals embarked therein, would probably have had the effect of embarrassing and retarding, instead of expediting the intended work. Besides, the term prescribed was, in many instances, evidently too short for the completion thereof, with such capitals as were then to be found, or could be collected in Ireland. But the condition of the country was singularly unfavourable to the prosecution of works of this nature. There was very little money. Archbishop Boulter, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written in 1724, states the current coin in Ireland, gold, silver, and copper, at 400,000l.—There were, comparatively speaking, very few people.—The return to the House of Lords, in 1731, made the population amount to no more than 2,010,221, or about 66 souls, on an average, to every square English mile.—There was no manufacture worthy of notice, except the linen; and that was then merely in its infancy: the average quantity annually exported, during a period of three years, ended

* 2 A. c. 16. † 8 G. I. c. 13. ‡ 5 G. II. c. 7. § 12 C. II. c. 13.
¶ 12 A. stat. 2. c. 10. || Part 1. Section 2.

in 1712, or the year before the act passed, being only 1,439,833 yards, or about one-thirtieth of that which is actually exported, besides the greatly increased quantity consumed at home.—Tillage was very contracted,—the average annual excess of corn exported, beyond that which was imported, during a period of four years ended in 1712, being no more than 87,111 barrels, chiefly produced near the sea coast; or about one-tenth of the excess in the period ended in 1792, when the population, amounting to 4,206,612, was considerably more than doubled.—And the general export trade of the country was extremely trivial; the value of the annual exports, during the period ended in 1712, being on an average only 826,661l.

The business of inland navigation will certainly not be prosecuted by private individuals, or companies, on their own account, without sufficient inducements to undertake it; accompanied by the possession, or at least, the prospect of means sufficient to accomplish the projected work. Such inducements and such means are very rarely to be found, except in thriving countries, wherein there has been a very considerable accumulation of wealth. When in one part of a country, certain manufactures have flourished, in consequence of an extensive foreign demand; in another, agriculture, in consequence, perhaps, of a combination of natural circumstances favourable thereto; and in a third, there is found some mineral production which the inhabitants of the other two may have occasion for; the demands of the agriculturist for manufactures, of the manufacturers for corn, and of both for the produce of the mine, act as effectual inducements to speculative persons to undertake the task of opening or improving the communications between these different districts by inland navigation; and the wealth created in one place by manufacturing, and in another by farming industry, supplies the means of accomplishing the work. Or, when, in any country, agriculture flourishes in consequence of a growing demand for its produce, either at home or from abroad, the advantages likely to accrue to those who engage in inland navigation, from opening an extensive market for the future surplus produce of those manufactures which are the immediate offspring of agriculture, from facilitating the carriage of natural manures from places where they abound to those where they are wanting, from cheapening the transportation of corn from districts where, owing to peculiarities of soil and situation, the weather may have occasioned an exuberant harvest, to districts where the weather may have

have occasioned the reverse, and from enabling the farmers of the more interior parts of the country to send their corn to the places of exportation, operate as sufficient inducements to undertake the work; and, in such a country, the means for accomplishing it may, generally speaking, be easily obtained from a multitude of interested contributors.

The attention of the people of England was but little directed to inland navigation until after the complete establishment of many of those manufactures which actually draw such vast wealth into that country; nor until after its agriculture had begun to flourish by the aid of bounties on the exportation of its produce. The silk, the cotton, the linen, the paper, the porcelain, the glass, and other manufactures, were established in England since the Revolution. Subsequently to that epoch also was the great exportation of corn; and commensurate with the increase of these was the prosecution of the business of inland navigation. It certainly was not the cause, but rather the effect of these.

Of the acts which aimed at the encouragement thereof, and which originated with interested individuals, there passed only six in the reign of King William, and three in that of Queen Anne; but in the reign of George the First, there passed 13, in that of George the Second 26*, and in that of His present Majesty, more than had ever passed before. During the first fourteen sessions of his reign, there passed no fewer than 19 acts for making artificial navigations, including the Bridgewater, Trent, and Forth canals†.

Such, as already noticed, was the commercial and agricultural condition of Ireland, at the time of passing the first navigation act, that it afforded neither any effective inducement to individuals or companies to engage in the business of inland navigation, nor the means of proceeding therewith; had any such inducement existed. The act, therefore, which empowered commissioners to agree with undertakers to complete prescribed works, within seven years, may fairly be considered as utterly illusive.

* In these reigns the following rivers were made navigable, viz. the Aire, Calder, Frome, Beverley-beck, Avon, Brandon, Waveney, Cam, Canterbury river, river from Colchester to Wyvenhoe, Dane, Darwent, Derwent, Douglas, Dun, Eden, Ivel, Idle, Kennet, Lark, Loyne, Medway, Mersey, Trewel, Nare, Nen, Ouse, Rodon, Sankey-brook, Stout, Stroudwater, Tone, Trent, Weaver, Worsley-brook, Wye, and Lagg.

† Chalmers.

Its inefficacy, which certainly must have been foreseen by the framers of it, was announced in an act which passed fourteen years after, viz. 3 G. II. c. 3., purporting to be for the encouragement of tillage, and also for the more effectual putting the act just noticed in execution : thus coupling together two pursuits, tillage and inland navigation, which are in a peculiar manner ancillary to each other ; and undoubtedly the greatest objects in political economy that can engage the attention of the statesman. This last act proceeds with observing, that private persons were discouraged from engaging in the undertakings in contemplation, on account of the great expense necessarily attendant thereon ; that the encouraging of tillage, and employing the poor of the kingdom, would be of great benefit to the same ; and that it is reasonable and fit that works of such public benefit and advantage should be carried on, at the charge of the kingdom, by some public fund appointed and set apart for that purpose, &c. Fourteen years were surely rather more than were requisite for the discovery of such obvious truths as these. But the legislature of Ireland, during the period of its subordination, was, on all important occasions, wonderfully tardy in its investigations of truth ; and powerfully restrained from acting in conformity therewith when discovered ; but always laudably ingenuous in acknowledging its errors. In the case of the corn bounties, it acknowledged its errors, either formally or virtually, in successive acts, yet pertinaciously declined, for near one hundred years, to adopt those expedients which England had experimentally proved to be completely efficacious. In the case in question, its conduct was similar in effect to its conduct in the case alluded to. Conformable to the observations in the act, it instituted a public fund, formed of a tax of 20 shillings on four-wheeled, and five shillings on two-wheeled carriages ; a tax of six-pence the pack on home-made, and twelve-pence the pack on imported cards ; a tax of five shillings the pair on dice, and six-pence the ounce on gold and silver plate, home-made or imported : all to continue for 21 years, together with the King's moiety of forfeitures.

But the net produce of these taxes, in the first *twenty-one* years, amounted to no more than 63,128l. 9s. 7½d, or 3,006l. 2s. 4½d., on an average, each year ; out of which the commissioners appointed were empowered to pay the salaries of a clerk, door-keeper, and other necessary servants. How far the residue, if faithfully applied, which was very unlikely to be the case,

was adequate to obtain for the people of Ireland the benefits of inland navigation, may easily be conjectured by those who are in the least degree conversant in the business*. But even this small residue was made applicable to other purposes. The commissioners, appointed by the act, were the Lord Chancellor, the four archbishops, and twenty noblemen and gentlemen in each province. Of these, the major part present, such major part not being less than eleven, were empowered to dispose of the money arising from the duties, for the encouragement of tillage, employment of the poor, draining and improving bogs and unprofitable low grounds, making the several rivers navigable, and making canals in such manner and proportion, and at such times, as they should think most fit and convenient. The greater part of these objects were just as likely, as inland navigation, to attract the attention of the commissioners; some of them much more so; and each of them was evidently calculated to absorb the whole sum. So that in fact, the act, after all, left the business of inland navigation in nearly the same condition.

Twenty-two years after, these commissioners were by 25 G. II. c. 10. formed into a company, or body corporate, under the title of the Corporation for promoting and carrying on Inland Navigation in Ireland. The company were authorized to elect, from among themselves, for each of the four provinces, six assistants who were vested with considerable powers. They were likewise authorized to appoint additional officers, and to increase the salaries and fees of others. They could also appoint persons to draw maps of roads, &c. And were empowered to make navigable other rivers besides those mentioned in the first act.

The decline in the produce of the appropriated taxes was noticed in this act; and expedients and precautions were resorted to in order to render them more productive. But it must have been evident, to every reflecting man, that the business of inland navigation was not more likely to be expeditiously and skilfully conducted under this, than under the former acts; and that jobbing and speculation were rather facilitated than precluded by it; and consequently that it was as illusive, in effect, as they were.

* The money granted to the commissioners of the Caledonian canal from the 20th of October 1803 to the 4th of May 1808 was 253,985l. 16s. 5d., or about 49,777l. per annum.

The 29 G. II. c. 10. after noticing the difficulty of getting three of the corporation to meet, in order to settle disputes with the proprietors of lands, and their general incompetency to settle such disputes, through ignorance of local circumstances, gives a power to the corporation to delegate this business to others, not being members; and to the persons, so delegated, it gives powers and authorities equal to those exercised by the commissioners, or members of the corporation.

By 3 G. III. c. 11. the corporation were allowed to apply so much of the duties, as should be found necessary, in building and furnishing a house for their meeting and accommodation, and for the rent of a convenient one till their own should be finished. Thus was a wider field opened for profusion and jobbing, while the business of inland navigation was left in its former state.

The corporation having, in the course of the fourteen following years, issued warrants for the payment of money and incurred debts exceeding their funds, an act was passed, viz 17 & 18 G. III. c. 16., restraining the further issuing of warrants or orders for money until those already issued were discharged, and the debts of the corporation fully paid, except for salaries, rent, and for such sums as might be necessary to repair accidental breaches in the works already made, and which the tolls of the navigation were not sufficient to repair. This act likewise continued the duties, which constituted the funds of the corporation, for seven years from 1779. The total amount of these duties, for 56 years ended in 1786, was 382,292l.; the amount of the parliamentary grants to the corporation, during the same period, was 227,669l., making together the sum of 609,961l. or 10,892l. on an average yearly. Had the whole of this sum been every year faithfully applied to inland navigation alone, and skilfully expended therein, it might, perhaps, have at length produced a considerable effect; but it was applicable, as before noticed, to other purposes also; and subjected to deductions for salaries, fees, rent, buildings, &c. The residue left for inland navigation, was moreover, in part, most injudiciously expended, and, in part, as there is strong reason for suspecting, converted by individuals to private purposes. In the report made to parliament, it was stated that the persons to whom the warrants were issued were accountable to the corporation, and that several of them never passed their accounts. The jobbing and negligence of this corporation were indeed so clearly perceived by many,

many, and so universally suspected, that a radical alteration, in the mode of carrying on the inland navigation of Ireland, was resolved on, and effected by the parliament, among the earlier improvements that succeeded the establishment of its independence. In fact, under the old corporation, the grand canal had not extended more than eight miles.

To every person of reflection, it must have been abundantly evident, that, in a country circumstanced as Ireland was, with regard to trade, for upwards of sixty years after passing the first act of the nature in question, no effectual progress could possibly be made in inland navigation, without very considerable grants, on the part of government, to a well constituted and closely watched corporation or company. Individuals, as before observed, had neither means nor inducements to prosecute inland navigation at their own expence; nor to engage in it on an equality with government. When the tolls were insufficient to repair the breaches in the canals, internal trade must have been at a very low ebb in Ireland. Yet the corporation were restrained from granting to undertakers more than one-sixth of the sum necessary to complete the work: and even this they were not empowered to grant until near fifty years had elapsed after the passing of the first act: and the commissioners of imprest accounts were not armed with sufficient powers to examine minutely into the expenditure of public money before 1784, or fifty-five years after the act which granted duties to the corporation for the purpose of carrying on their appropriate work.

The amount of the charge for pensions on the civil list, from 1729 to 1786 inclusive, was 3,367,928l., or 59,086l. on an average each year, being 48,194l. more than the annual amount of the duties appropriated to inland navigation. The government therefore appear, without looking into other accounts, to have been really able to apply five times more to inland navigation than was applied thereto. If, however, only the difference between the annual amount of the charge for pensions, during that period, and that of the taxes just mentioned, viz. 48,194l., which, for the most part, was scandalously lavished on prodigals, parasites, pimps, prostitutes and foreign princes, had been faithfully applied to inland navigation, the various benefits resulting therefrom might long since have been attained*. Or had the difference between the annual amount of

* It was computed by a very sensible writer, shortly before the Union, that three millions, if skilfully expended, would give Ireland all the benefits of internal navigation.

these

these pensions and that of the bounties on corn exported, during the same period, viz. 56,104l. the former being, as above, 59,086l. and the latter only 2,982l. on a yearly average, been applied in liberal bounties on exported corn, the agriculture of Ireland would have been encouraged as it was by the liberal bounties of 1784; which yet, on an average of four years ended in 1789, fell short of that difference by 8,311l. And the encouragement of tillage, by such means, would have then had, as it afterwards had, the effects of exciting a spirit of industry and enterprise; increasing the capital of the nation; and furnishing private individuals with means and inducements to engage in the business of inland navigation, with a suitable aid on the part of government.

These obvious effects the leaders of the Irish legislature either foresaw, or did not. To presume that they escaped their penetration would be utterly unwarrantable. From the charge therefore of having sacrificed their country, or wilfully neglected its interests, they cannot possibly be rescued. The pensions, it is true, were granted on the hereditary revenue; but parliament had unquestionably a right to control the application of that revenue.

Among the illusive and inefficacious acts of the Irish parliament, some of the acts which relate to the fisheries may also be reckoned; and likewise those relating to mines and minerals. They all professed to hold forth encouragement to the industrious and enterprising; but very few of them were in reality calculated to do so; as the framers of them, who had the example of England before their eyes, in all probability perceived.

Notwithstanding the declaration of the sagacious Sir William Temple; towards the latter end of the last century, "that the fishery of Ireland, if improved, would prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground," it was, like all the other valuable natural advantages of Ireland, no doubt designedly, neglected for a long series of years.

After the following preamble, viz. "whereas the wealth and prosperity of this kingdom do, in a great degree, depend on the improvement and encouragement of its fisheries; and whereas the laws now in being (those of Ed. I., R. II., & C. L.) are defective in making proper regulations for carrying on the fishery to the great discouragement of persons from undertaking so beneficial a branch of trade," &c. the 11 G. II. c. 14. which purported to be for the further improvement and encouragement

ment of the fisheries of Ireland, is limited to denouncing penalties for improper fishing, and offering premiums of twenty shillings per cwt. on whale fins, and ten shillings per tun on whale oil taken on the coast. In fact, it was not till the beginning of His present Majesty's reign that the coast fishery of Ireland experienced the attention of the legislature. By the 3 G. III. c. 24. a bounty of 20 shillings annually, per ton, was given on Irish or British built vessels fishing on the coast of Ireland, sailing from some Irish port, and landing their fish in Ireland. By the same act, bounties were likewise given on hake, ling, mackarel, &c. exported. The fishing vessels were to be decked, and not under 20 nor above 100 tons burden. The bounties, which were to continue seven years, were afterwards extended to fourteen years by 5 G. III. c. 7. This act had, in some degree, the welfare of England as well as that of Ireland in view. Besides the bounties were not, comparatively speaking, sufficiently liberal. The British fishers, employed in the white-fishery, had an annual bounty of 30 shillings per ton on vessels of from 20 to 30 tons burden, anterior to the 30 G. II. c. 30. which raised it to 50 shillings per ton. The Irish act, however, before mentioned, in conjunction with others of a more encouraging nature, which passed about the time when Irishmen, united and tranquil at home, began to grow impatient of the long continued commercial tyranny of England, had the effect of turning much of the industry of the country to its valuable fisheries.

The river fisheries of Ireland became objects of attention much about the time that its coast fisheries became so. The 2 G. I. c. 21. inflicted a penalty of 20 shillings on persons keeping or using spears, &c. for the destruction of salmon fry. But the penalty was trifling and the detection difficult. In England, only the year before this act, all persons destroying the spawn or fry of salmon, or any other fish in any way, were by 1 G. II. c. 18. liable to a penalty of five pounds, as were those who sent to market or sold salmon weighing less than six pounds. Thirty years after the passing of this English act, an act was passed in Ireland (viz. 31 G. II. c. 13.) subjecting to a penalty of five pounds all persons fishing for salmon, between the 12th of August and 1st of February; and to a penalty of ten pounds all persons setting nets or engines on pretence of taking eels between the 1st of March and 1st of June. The salmon fisheries of Ireland, however, required further protection; wherefore at the time when
it

it was in general contemplation to turn all the advantages of Ireland to good account, an act passed, viz. the 17th & 18th of His present Majesty, c. 19., inflicting a penalty of five pounds on all persons fishing for salmon with lights, or spearing them, &c. by night, or destroying the fry by dams or other implements; and also a penalty of ten pounds on persons destroying salmon, trout, or other large fish, by day or night, by means of gaffs, spears, strokalls, snares, &c. A penalty of twenty pounds was, by 23 & 24 G. III. c. 40., imposed on those proprietors of weirs who did not leave a clear space of twenty-one feet in the deepest part of the river. And thus at length were the salmon fisheries of Ireland protected.

Subsequently to the Revolution, there passed a few acts purporting to be for the encouragement of finding and working mines and minerals. But as no premiums nor pecuniary aid were offered, a very limited effect only was produced. They likewise related chiefly to coal mines. The 10th of G. I. c. 5., alluding to an act passed in the reign of Anne, observes, "that that act had not the full and desired effect, although many mines and minerals have, since the passing of the same, been found out and discovered in this kingdom, some whereof have been wrought to the great advantage of the public, and many others, though found, have not been wrought by reason of the legal incapacities the persons lie under, in whose estates they are." It then proceeds to regulations with regard to tenancy, moiety of ore, &c.

Before the commencement of the last century, when Ireland had still some considerable tracts of woodland remaining, iron, in an unwrought state, was exported from it, in considerable quantities, to England.

Dr. Boate, in his Natural History, mentions many iron works in the province of Munster, in the Queen's county, the counties of Roscommon, Fermanagh, Clare, and Kilkenny, besides several on the coast of Ulster, in the reign of King Charles the First. There were likewise some valuable iron works near Lough Conn, in the county of Mayo, later than these, and which were continued until the timber was exhausted.

Sir William Petty says, that in 1672, there were 6,600 forges in Ireland, or, as he thinks, rather one-fifth more; that the men and women employed therein amounted to 22,500; and that 2000 persons were employed in making iron. Under the then circumstances of Ireland, when capi-

tals were very scanty, and the pursuit of other sorts of manufactures was probably as lucrative as that of iron, the latter appears thus to have given considerable employment to the industrious part of the Irish community. But this soon ceased to be the case. Indeed the employment which the iron works afforded to the people of Ireland had been greatly abridged, when Sir William Petty wrote, by the attendant circumstances of the rebellion of 1641.

By an act passed in England, in the eighth year of William the Third, the duties on bar iron, and iron slit and hammered into rods, imported from Ireland, were taken off. Owing to the then depressed and insulated condition of manufacturing industry in Ireland, this removal of duty naturally occasioned a great run on the Irish timber; which, moreover, was constantly imported into England at the value, as stated in the book of rates, of 13s. 4d. the ton, and, consequently, liable to scarcely any duty. The precarious state, besides, in which Ireland had long been, and the refuge which its forests afforded to criminals, outlaws, and those who were hostile to the existing government, rendered the landlords careless with regard to the preservation of their woods; or, rather, it should seem, averse to their existence; for, in many old leases, clauses are to be found requiring the tenants to use no other article for fuel but timber. The English companies too, or English directors or agents, by whom chiefly the iron business was conducted in Ireland, looking, as is usual in similar cases, much more to present, than future gains, declined the expense and inconvenience of seasonably securing to themselves a future supply of timber. In consequence of all which a scarcity of that requisite article soon ensued.

In order to put a stop to this improvident waste, the parliament of Ireland, which was not at that time so completely destitute of patriotism as it soon afterwards proved, passed an act, viz. 10 W. III. c. 12., for planting and preserving timber trees, and woods. The preamble to this act says, "Forasmuch as by the late rebellion in this kingdom, and the several iron works formerly here, the timber is utterly destroyed, &c." This act was followed by several others of a similar nature in the succeeding reigns: but none of them seemed calculated to urge the landholders to replace those woods which were said to have been utterly destroyed. The act just mentioned required that 260,600 trees should be planted in Ireland, proportionately in the several counties; and laid heavy penalties on such persons as neglected

lected to comply with the requisition. It also required proprietors and tenants to plant a certain number annually; and the persons or societies who had iron works, to plant 500 in each year during the continuance of their works. But the number of trees was inconsiderable, and no effect of an extensive and permanent nature appears to have been produced. The act too was defective, inasmuch as it did not provide against the waste of such few woods as still existed. Besides, the consumption of home-made iron and Irish timber was left unchecked by the importation of foreign iron and timber, as heavy duties on these last continued till 1703, when they were reduced to five shillings custom and five shillings excise per ton on iron, six-pence custom and six-pence excise per 1,000 on staves, one penny per 1,000 on hoops and laths, and one penny per barrel on bark. The same act (2 Anne, c. 2.) laid a duty of 2l. 10s. on every ton of timber and plank, five shillings on every 1,000 hoops or laths, and three pounds on every 1,000 staves exported, *except to England*: an exception which was calculated to render the act, in a great degree, abortive. Moreover, by the 4 Anne, c. 9. the penalties incurred by non-compliance with the requisitions in the 10 W. III. c. 12. were remitted to such as had not paid them; and further time was given to avoid them: in other words, the latter statute was virtually repealed. It was formerly so by the 8 G. I. c. 8., which acknowledged that the penalties of the act in question had proved ineffectual.

Thus was lost to Ireland a most valuable manufacture which, as appears by the evidence given before the lords of the committee of privy-council, in England, in 1785, employed, in that country, 200,000 people, and absorbed a capital of 12 millions sterling; a manufacture which, since that time, has been progressively extending and improving, and which, notwithstanding its increased extent, does not yet consume the whole of the raw material actually produced in a country which, as is evident by the act before noticed, was deficient therein about a century ago: for the average value of unmanufactured iron annually exported from Britain, during the six years ended 5th January 1806, appears to have been 98,692l. * The quantity of foreign iron imported for the manufacture of those articles, for

* From the Newspapers.

which British iron is less fit, is, no doubt, very great; but still the quantity produced at home is infinitely greater than it was.

And thus also, through the want of becoming exertions on the part of the Irish parliament, did Ireland lose two of the most important articles (timber and iron) requisite to enable her to be the carrier of her own commodities to foreign markets. Had Ireland continued in possession of these, there is no country in the world where capital could have been better employed in the building and outfit of ships: for, in addition to what she can still boast of, the best provisions for long voyages, and the best sail-cloth in the British dominions, she would have had the best and most durable timber that can be any where found, and as good iron as almost any country furnishes*.

Had the British parliament seasonably prohibited the importation of Irish timber, as it did that of Irish cattle, had it been as assiduous to prevent the exportation of that article to other countries, as it was to prevent the exportation of Irish wool, and had it compelled the Irish parliament to concur in measures for preserving the woods of Ireland, as it did to lend a helping hand in annihilating the Irish woollen manufactures, there would probably, at this day, have been open in Ireland a source of prodigious wealth, to the manifest benefit of the empire at large. But to act thus was utterly inconsistent with the nature of that system which the British government seemed bent on pursuing with regard to Ireland.

In consequence, partly of the loss of the two most essential articles in ship-building, and partly of that tardy accumulation of capital which the restrictions on the Irish commerce were calculated to occasion, the people of Britain became the principal carriers of the produce of Ireland to foreign markets: or, it may be said, almost engrossed that branch of trade. In the year ended 5th January 1807, there were built and registered in Ireland only 41 vessels, the aggregate tonnage whereof amounted to no more than 1,687 tons, or about 41 tons, on an average, each. The num-

* The Irish salt beef has frequently been deemed superior to that of England, especially when both are kept for an unusual length of time. The sail-cloth made at Douglas, in the neighbourhood of Cork, has long been experimentally found to surpass all others in strength. The durability of Irish oak is well known. And the superior quality of some of the Irish iron has been evinced by the celebrated mineralogist Mr. Kirwan.

ber of vessels belonging to the several ports of Ireland, on the 30th September 1806, was only 1,074, measuring 55,545, or under 51½ tons each, which is less than the tonnage of the shipping belonging to Whitehaven alone*. The tonnage of Irish vessels which entered inwards into the several ports of Ireland, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was only 107,703, while that of British vessels was 652,946. And the tonnage of Irish vessels which cleared outwards was only 97,856, while that of British vessels was 615,702 †; which last, being added to the tonnage of the British ships which entered inwards, makes a total amounting to 1,268,648 tons, yielding to the ship-owners of Britain, at only 1l. 10s. per ton, 1,902,972l. ‡, a profit which, it is hoped, will not, in conjunction with other unbecoming considerations, have the effect of precluding those requisite aids, to the people of Ireland, which alone are wanting to enable them to supply themselves with Irish coal, and thus save the annual expenditure of about 700,000l. a-year on that article §.

As a supplement to this section, it may be observed, that, in eight years, there passed in England no less than 1,124 acts for bridges, roads, canals, harbours, draining, inclosing, paving, &c. ||, which was ten times more than all the acts for internal improvement, encouragement of industry, advancement of trade, or support of manufactures, that passed in Ireland from the Revolution to the establishment of Irish national independence, being a period of near one hundred years; and of these a great many were illusive, nugatory, and ineffectual; some were merely explanatory of foregoing

* The number of ships belonging to the several ports of England and Scotland, in the year ended September 1806, being 17,658, was upwards of 16 times greater than the number belonging to Ireland, though the current value of British produce and manufactures exported was not five times greater; and the average tonnage of these vessels was above 113 tons, while that of the Irish vessels was under 52.

† See table in the Appendix marked XII.

‡ The medium of the prices of freight to the West Indies and to Britain, from Ireland, being about 2l. 19s. per ton, and several of the vessels which enter and depart, chiefly from the southern ports of Ireland, having but a very small proportion of Irish goods on board, and the majority of the shipping being employed in the coal trade, 1l. 10s. per ton may be considered as the average gain of the British ship-owners in the Irish trade.

§ The number of tons of coal imported into Ireland in the year ended 5th Jan. 1808, was 491,239, worth 785,981l. 19s. the average price being in Dublin, as the writer was informed by an eminent coal factor there, 1l. 12s. per ton.

|| Chalmers's Estimate, p. 311.

ones ; and several were requisite supplements to others. Ireland was unimproved and uncultivated. Its aspect was wild and dreary. Its labouring poor were slothful, miserable, and totally destitute of all those comforts which the same class in England rank among the necessaries of life. Its trade, with the exception of the linen manufacture, was almost limited to the export of its redundant beef, butter, pork, tallow, hides, and cattle ; and the import of that corn which it was not encouraged to grow, of those manufactures which it was discouraged or restrained from engaging in, and of those other consumable articles of luxury which the higher classes alone enjoyed the means of purchasing.

SECTION V.

British Acts, occasioned by Necessity, favourable to the Export Trade of Ireland

SUCH was the prevalence of that spirit of commercial jealousy which operated in Britain, such its influence on the decisions of the legislature, and so little guided were the statesmen of Britain by just and liberal notions of commerce, and of the true interests of their sovereign's dominions, that the statute-book of that country, containing many acts hostile to the trade and manufactures of Ireland, presents not a single one from the Revolution, to the date of Irish independence, calculated to promote its trade, except those few which appear to have owed their origin to downright necessity; and which, therefore, cannot evidently be considered as boons by the people of Ireland.

The first of these acts, worth noticing, was the one already alluded to, 8th and 9th W. III. c. 20., which permitted the importation of Irish bar iron unwrought, and iron slit or hammered into rods free of all duties. The motive which induced this permission is thus disclosed in the preamble of the section which contains the permission: "Whereas the scarcity and dearth of iron in this kingdom, have of late much discouraged the manufactures thereof, in which great numbers of poor are employed," &c.

The next act, or rather series of acts, favourable to the export trade of Ireland, and originating in the necessities of Britain, and the only remaining ones which it is necessary to notice here, are those by which the provisions and cattle of Ireland were re-admitted into England. By the 18 C. II. c. 2. the importation of great cattle, sheep, and swine, beef, pork and bacon from Ireland was, as before noticed, declared a common nuisance, and forbid on pain of forfeiture. The 32 C. II. c. 2. extended the forfeiture to mutton, lamb, butter and cheese, and continued it for ever. So much, however, of the act as related to bacon was repealed by 5th and 6th W. & M. c. 2. At this time beef, butter, pork, cheese, and candles were permitted to be exported from England free from any duty.

duty, by 3 W. & M. c. 8. The prohibitory act just mentioned would, no doubt, as its authors intended, have continued in force to this day, had not the necessities of the people of England required its suspension. The 31 G. II. c. 28. prefaces a permission to import Irish salted beef, pork, and butter into England, for six months, with stating that such permission would be of great advantage to both kingdoms. It certainly was so to England. The duties on the importation of corn had been discontinued for a limited time the year before; the exportation of corn and meal was prohibited from the plantations in America to any place except Great Britain or Ireland; the exportation of corn, &c. from England was also prohibited, as well as the making of low wines and spirits from malt or grain, for a limited time. In short, food had become scarce, and a prospect of its continuing so induced the legislature to continue the prohibition on the export of corn from England, and the making of spirits; and likewise the permission to import Irish beef until the 24th of December 1759, after acknowledging that such permission had been found useful and beneficial. By 32 G. II. c. 12., the free importation of Irish tallow was continued five years, under the persuasion of its tending to the ease of the public; as was the free importation of Irish cattle, by 32 G. II. c. 11., under the persuasion before expressed of its being of great advantage to both kingdoms. The 33 G. II. c. 5. continued the permission to import Irish provisions till December 1760; and 33 G. II. c. 4. further prohibited the making of spirits*.

“Almost every year from the demise of George the Second,” says Mr. Chalmers, “a law passed allowing the importation of salted provisions from Ireland, till in the progress of our liberality we made those regulations perpetual which were only temporary †.”

* Live cattle exported from Ireland, in			
four years, ended 25th March 1756, 116		four years, ended 25th March 1764, 9577	
Beef,	do. barrels 654,101	do.	- - - 783,476
Butter,	do. cwts. 825,228	do.	- - - 950,257
Pork,	do. barrels 139,641	do.	- - - 196,405

Excess in the latter period, cattle	9,461	} The present official value whereof is 559,855l. being 134,963l. 15s. on an average each year.
beef,	129,375 barrels	
butter,	125,029 cwts	
pork,	56,764 barrels	

† Estimate, p. 145.

How far we Irishmen are to ascribe this permission to the operation of principles of liberality in Britain, the various statutes already noticed sufficiently shew us. And as for the subsequent liberation of our trade, and establishment of our legislative independence, Irishmen who advert to the spirit and unanimity of the volunteers in 1779 and 1782, can scarcely fail to experience a considerable diminution of their gratitude for these boons to Britain. The truth is, that had it not been for want in the former case, and fear in the latter, on the part of Britain, we should, in 1800, have been in no respect better than fifty years before: and to want and fear, it is certain that many Irishmen look for such further improvements of their condition, as may be necessary; rather than to liberality, or sound policy, the effects whereof they have certainly not been in the habit of experiencing.

The intelligent reader who will carefully compare the acts which have been brought under consideration, in the foregoing sections, with those successive measures which have been pursued in every European country, distinguished by commercial prosperity, and more especially in Britain, with the view of exciting and fostering a national spirit of industry and enterprise, perpetually operating in the improvement of the various natural advantages of a country, perpetually employed in developing its sources of wealth, and eliciting the utmost benefits from the gifts of nature, will surely find but little ground for surprise that Ireland did not long ago become, what the sagacious Sir William Temple affirmed she was qualified to become, "one of the richest countries in Europe, and a mighty accession of strength and revenue to the crown of England." The reader who has duly reflected on the necessary effects of these different acts, acts which amount to a sufficient proof that the legislature of Britain, on the one hand, perseveringly aimed at the repression of a spirit of industry in Ireland; and that, on the other, a majority of the Irish legislature, regardless of the welfare of their country, either criminally seconded, or basely acquiesced in its efforts, can scarcely be surprised at the vast actual inferiority of Ireland to Britain, in point of commercial prosperity, notwithstanding the transcendent advantages of the former, and the rapidity which marked the augmentation of her wealth, after her rights had been spiritedly and successfully asserted. And the reader who will consider these acts, in conjunction with the circumstances which shall be

v

exposed

exposed in the following part, will doubtless find little hesitation in concurring with the writer in this opinion, that the melancholy spectacle of national imbecillity, comparative poverty, and general misery, which Ireland long exhibited, was but the natural result of this combination: a combination sufficiently calculated not only to produce this effect, but to occasion, at least to a certain degree, the depopulation of the country; and which it probably would have done, had not the mischievous contrivances of man been happily counteracted and defeated by the beneficent interposition of God.

P A R T III.

OF THE REMOTE CAUSE WHICH EVENTUALLY OPERATED IN FRUSTRATING THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND.

SECTION I.

Origin and Progress of Religious Animosity in Ireland.

THE successive acts which conduced to render almost abortive the various natural advantages of Ireland having, it is hoped, been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding sections, we are now to take a view of the origin and progress of that disunion, among the Irish people, which tended to facilitate systematic oppression on the part of the legislature of Britain; and not only to extinguish a becoming spirit of resistance to that oppression, but to create a disposition to concur therein, on the part of the legislature of Ireland.

This fatal disunion was occasioned and perpetuated by an incongruity of religious tenets.

A diversity of opinion, with regard to the speculative articles, rites and observances of religion, which, in truth, have very little, if any real connexion with the affairs of social life, is certainly by no means to be deprecated, as a probable source of national misery, unless such diversity be insidiously connected with the political affairs of the country. When thus unhappily combined, it becomes, indeed, a most lamentable evil. The revolutions, changes, and commotions incident, in a greater or less degree, to all countries, render it, almost inevitably, pregnant with calamitous effects, proportioned in magnitude and duration to the extent and recurrence of these.

The history of Europe shews that the effects of different religious opinions, vitiated by their union with the passions which predominate in the political world, ambition and avarice, have been, not merely to imbitter social life, but to abate, if not annihilate a spirit of rational liberty, to

blind and paralise governments, to kindle and keep alive the most destructive internal wars, and ultimately to bring religion itself into disrepute.

The history of Ireland may be said to exhibit little else than a mournful series of calamities issuing from a strict combination of religion, politics and passion. This disastrous combination has subsisted in Ireland for near two hundred years. The political events and vicissitudes which characterize the Irish annals strongly tended to confirm it. And the measures and practices, consequent on these, had the necessary effect of giving birth and energy to that ruthless religious enmity, among the Irish people, which so powerfully operated in distracting, debilitating and disgracing their country, in a peculiar and most deplorable manner.

At the time when other European nations were seceding from the church of Rome, there were no inducements to religious innovation in Ireland. The Irish were satisfied with the religion of their ancestors. The Protestant religion was promulgated among them under signal disadvantages.

In other countries, the usurpations and exactions of aspiring and avaricious popes, the pretensions and refractoriness of arrogant prelates alarmed and irritated those who exercised the sovereign power. The wealth, luxury, sloth, and profligacy of the clergy, in general, excited envy, contempt and disgust. The mutual obloquies of the Antipopes, and the scandalous practices of the court of Rome, made deep impressions on the public mind. Literature, with its concomitant spirit of enquiry, began to spread among the laity. And finally, under the auspices of the powerful, and in the midst of circumstances eminently propitious to its progress, the work of religious innovation was undertaken, pursued, and, wherever a local spirit of liberty lent its aid, accomplished.

But in Ireland, the arrogated authority of the Roman Pontiffs, to which, by the way, the rough unmanageable Irish Septarchs appear to have slowly and reluctantly submitted*, was exercised comparatively without offence. Those who were vested with the powers of government were neither insulted nor contravened by imperious ecclesiastics. The wealth of the church was not coveted by prodigal or avaricious Princes, nor sought after by rapacious courtiers. The morals of the clergy had not

* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 94.

become subjects of general reprobation. The extraordinary piety, benevolence and learning for which the Culdees, or primitive monks of Ireland have been celebrated *, had, it is true, ceased to adorn the Catholic religion; its antiquity, however, implying the continuous respect of successive generations, not being counteracted by adverse circumstances, was perhaps not less instrumental than their virtues and talents would have been, in rendering it an object of high veneration among the Irish people. The crimes which had disgraced the pontifical tiara, and the enormities of the contending popes were almost wholly unknown in Ireland. It was too remote from the theatre of these abominations, and, in every respect, too much detached from the rest of Europe, to experience those effects which they produced on the continent. The monkish superstitions, delusions and absurdities, and the heathenish rites, and other abuses by which the Roman Catholic religion was so lamentably vitiated, in the dark ages, were far from being utterly unsuitable to the rude, ferocious and lawless inhabitants of Ireland. Learning was confined within the cloisters. Inquiry was neither encouraged nor facilitated. Nor, though licentiousness was prevalent, did a spirit of liberty exist. In short, none of the various motives, by which other nations were urged, or gradually disposed to separate themselves from the Romish communion, operated in Ireland. All descriptions of the Irish submitted blindly and heartily to the guidance and dictates of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

Such was the condition of Ireland when the new religion of England was announced to the natives of the former: a religion which they were evidently unprepared to embrace; and which, moreover, was completely destitute of the support it required. Its ministers did not dignify it, in Ireland, by striking instances of austerity or fortitude. They did not propagate it by superior zeal, learning, or address. They were neither competent, nor do they appear to have been even solicitous to forward its reception. Besides, it was far from being uniformly countenanced by the chief governors of Ireland †. It was hastily established by law. It was peremptorily obtruded on a bigotted people. The Roman Catholic Irish were required to relinquish their ancient form of worship, and follow the new one of the Protestant English; without being previously alienated

* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 94. 103. 107.

† Lord Strafford's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 14th October, 1633.
from

from the former by a perception of its errors, or allured to the latter by the virtues, talents, and examples of its ministers. They were required to renounce the religion of their forefathers, and to embrace the religion of strangers; a religion professed, in Ireland, exclusively by the successors of those adventurers and invaders by whom the native Irish had been plundered and cruelly oppressed*; by the successors of those who, for a vast series of years, had effectually endeavoured, under the impulse of despotick principles, accompanied by political improvidence, to exclude them from the operation of those equal English laws by which they ardently desired to be governed †; thus keeping them exposed, without a possibility of legal redress, to their own extortions, encroachments and sanguinary excesses. The Roman Catholic clergy, invariably respected and beloved by the laity, both on account of their sacred office and their birth ‡, were authoritatively supplanted for adhering to their ancient faith. And the religious houses of Ireland precipitately suppressed, without any provision being made, as in England, for those multitudes of paupers who were thus bereft of their customary means of support §. In the midst of such peculiarly inauspicious circumstances, the extremely limited progress which the Protestant religion made in Ireland, while it was rapidly gaining ground in England, can afford no matter of surprize.

If before the Roman Catholic and Protestant religions had become intimately blended with contrarious political views, Ireland had been wisely and steadily governed; if the native Irish had been scrupulously protected and assiduously conciliated; and if, in early times, the Irish Protestant divines had been as conspicuous for piety, learning and zeal as those of England were, it seems not altogether improbable that their religion would, in the course of time, have triumphed over that of Rome, notwithstanding the habitual respect of the Irish for the latter; for, as we learn from Sir John Davies, they did actually, in compliance with the will of Henry VIII.

* Sir John Davies's History of Ireland, *passim*.

† Id. p. 81. 83. 102.

‡ Ecclesiastical dignities, with their appropriate revenues, were enjoyed as appanages by the principal native Irish families. See Ledwich's Antiquities.

§ The poor laws of England which, it must be confessed, have, at length, become an intolerable grievance, were dictated by a spirit of humanity, which the English seem to have totally lost on being transplanted into Ireland.

“ *confess*”

*“ confess the supremacy of the King in all cases, and utterly renounce the pope’s jurisdiction *.”*

But anterior to the reign of that shrewd politician, Henry VII. the Kings of England were, generally speaking, too deeply involved in their wars with France, Scotland and Wales, and in those of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, to attain, in person, an accurate knowledge of the real circumstances of their Irish lordship; or at least to carry into effect such permanent measures as were suitable to them. Besides, they were sometimes counteracted, and frequently deceived by the mischievous misrepresentations of their servants and creatures †, whose political conduct in Ireland exhibited, with few intervals, a strange tissue of imbecility, contumacy, degeneracy, tyranny, impolicy and injustice; the lamentable effects whereof were by no means completely effaced, when the fatal rupture between the Roman Catholics and Protestants commenced. As for the clergy of the latter, their professional conduct, for nearly a century after the legal establishment of their religion in Ireland, appears to have been distinguished chiefly by inactivity and indifference; and, in other respects, to have afforded much ground for animadversion ‡.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, there happened, as Sir John Davies says, three notorious and main rebellions of the Irish. Two in Ulster, headed by Shane O’Neal and Tyrone, chieftains of an aboriginal Irish family which had exercised regal powers in that province. And the third in Munster, projected by Desmond, an Anglo-Hibernian lord §.

Of these rebellions, religion was certainly not the only, nor indeed the principal cause. Priests and Jesuits, it is true, were actively employed, on both occasions, in rousing the Irish to arms. But these incendiaries were, for the most part, emissaries and agents of Philip, the implacable foe of Elizabeth. Well grounded apprehensions of ill-usage, oppression and despoliation, together with a natural desire to re-establish the ancient independence and power of the princely house of O’Neal, and extend it over all Ireland, were the motives of the two former rebellions. Pride,

* Sir John Davies’s History of Ireland, p. 165.

† Id. p. 160.

‡ An avaricious alienation of Episcopal lands, a neglect of due decorum in the celebration of matrimony, and other deviations from duty, on the part of the Protestant clergy of Ireland, were complained of by Lord Strafford, in his correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ Id.

personal considerations, and the lust of power and wealth occasioned the latter.

The religion of the church of England having made no progress among the native Irish, the insurgents were all Roman Catholics. A considerable portion of the English armies, by whom they were subdued, were Protestants. Among individuals belonging to these, and among other English Protestant adventurers and undertakers, vast tracts of the confiscated lands of the Roman Catholic insurgents were distributed * : and some time after, a large colony of Protestants was planted, under circumstances of great rigour, in the northern counties, where the descendants of the ancient Irish had longest preserved the domains of their ancestors †.

Thus was laid the foundation of that inveterate, ruthless, religious enmity, which has been the peculiar curse of Ireland for two hundred years. The Roman Catholic and Protestant religions now begun to be connected with adverse political objects. The idea of an insatiable plunderer now began to be associated with the idea of a Protestant, in the mind of a Roman Catholic ; the idea of a refractory vindictive rebel with the idea of a Roman Catholic, in the mind of a protestant : and such were the unfortunate events which soon followed, that, before the lapse of half a century, these associations experienced an accession of almost every idea that can inflame and exasperate mankind, excite and give destructive energy to every malevolent passion by which human nature has been deformed.

In the year 1641, when the Irish Protestants were momentarily weakened by the united agency of various internal and external causes, the hostile disposition of the despoiled Roman Catholics became practically manifest by a rebellion, which commenced with the horrid massacre of several thousands of the former †.

Of this rebellion religious enmity was, no doubt, an efficient cause ; but confessedly not the only, nor, perhaps, the principal one, notwithstanding

* 2,836,837 plantation acres, or nearly the whole of the province of Ulster, was forfeited in Elizabeth's reign ; 574,628 acres were, according to Moryson, forfeited by the rebellion of Desmond.

† Clarendon's History, vol. iii. p. 157. Of this colony, Sir John Davies speaks, perhaps prophetically, thus : " It will assure Ireland to the crown of England for ever ; and finally make it a civil, and a rich, a mighty and a flourishing kingdom." History of Ireland, p. 192.

‡ Sir W. Petty says near 40,000 ; other authors more ; and others much less.

this truculent evidence of its exclusive operation. An ardent and natural desire to recover the lands of which their immediate ancestors had been deprived, precipitated into rebellion several whose personal influence was extensive, or whose hereditary controul still virtually subsisted *. Some became rebellious with a view to repairing their dissipated fortunes †; others were justly alarmed and alienated from the government by the vexatious inquisition set on foot by lord Strafforde ‡; and many were impelled to have recourse to arms by the unseasonable severity of the lords justices Parsons and Borlase §. The Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, with whose former loyalty the government was well satisfied ||, were not at first engaged in the rebellion, nor, probably, would ever have been so, but for the then existing combination of circumstances ¶.

To exterminate the protestants was the common object of all the leaders of the Roman Catholic rebels; not, however, under the impulse of pure zeal for their own religion, and a conscientious abhorrence of that of their enemies; but because, in the case of the laity, the Protestants possessed the confiscated estates which had belonged to the Roman Catholic Irish; and because, in the case of the clergy, the former enjoyed those ecclesiastical

* Roger Moore, whose family, in the reign of Elizabeth, had been deprived of great possessions in the province of Leinster, appears to have been the author or chief projector of this rebellion. He is represented as a man of uncommon address, and in all respects qualified for the undertaking in which he engaged. His first and principal endeavours were directed to instigate, in the north, those Irish chieftains, the grandeur of whose families had fallen with that of his own, or had been impaired by inconsiderate prodigality.

† Leland's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 95, 96.

‡ Coxe's History of Ireland, part ii. p. 58.

§ Clanrickard's Memoirs, preface.

|| "That part of the Irish," says lord Clarendon, "which inhabited the Pale, so called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of English extraction, since the first plantation of the English, many ages past. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous customs of the Irish, and were as stupidly transported with the highest superstition of the Romish religion, yet they had always steadily adhered to the crown, and performed the duty of good subjects during all those rebellions which the whole reign of queen Elizabeth was seldom without." History of the Rebellion, vol. iii. p. 156.

¶ That the rebellion did not originate in religious enmity alone, is sufficiently evinced by the Lords Justices' proclamation of the 8th February 1642, containing an apology to the Roman Catholics of the Pale for having, in a former proclamation, denounced the Irish papists as rebels, without due discrimination.

revenues which the latter eagerly fought to recover*. Ambition and avarice were the predominant principles of action, not merely among the rebel military chiefs; but among those who professed themselves the servants of that exalted archetype of humility and innocence, the blessed Saviour of mankind.

The rebels were, with few exceptions, Roman Catholics: their opponents were Protestants. The horror excited by the barbarous indiscriminate massacre which had recently been perpetrated, heightened almost to madness the sectarian malignancy of the latter; and this malignancy, sublimated, as it were, and combined with revenge, avarice, and fear of utter extirpation, necessarily hurried them into the most savage hostility. While the imposing devices of priestcraft, the animating appeals of patriotism, the diversified artifices of ambition, the piteous wailings of poverty, and the pathetic tales of misfortune, conjointly operating on a people susceptible of the most lively impressions, instigated the former to deeds of extraordinary ferocity. Each party became infuriate against the other by a series of battles, and multiplied acts of rapine and barbarity.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit : lateque vagatur
 Ensis : et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum.
 Stat cruor in templis : multaque rubentia caede
 Lubrica saxa madent. Nulli sua profuit aetas.
 Non fenis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
 Precipitasse diem, nec primo in limine vitæ
 Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata.

Lucan. l. i.

Truces were deceitful. Reciprocal hatred and distrust were excessive. Reconciliation seemed to have become impracticable. The permanent co-existence of Irish protestants and Roman Catholics appeared almost impossible. Each thirsted for the blood; each aimed at the utter extermination of the other. At length the conquering arm of Cromwell terminated the long, disastrous and devastating contest.

* "The cause of the war," says Sir William Petty, "was a desire of the Romists to recover the church revenue, worth about 110,000l. a-year, and of the common Irish to get all the Englishmen's estates; and of 10 or 12 grandees to get the empire of the whole." Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 313.

"Whereas,"

“Whereas,” says Sir William Petty, “the present proportion of the British is as 3 to 11; but before the wars the proportion was less, viz. as 2 to 11; and then it follows that the number of British slain in 11 years, was 112,000 souls, of which I guess two-thirds to have perished by war, plague, and famine. So as it follows that 37,000 were massacred in the first year of tumults: so as those who think 154,000 were so destroyed, ought to review the grounds of their opinion.

It follows also that above 504,000 of the Irish perished, and were wasted by the sword, plague, famine, hardship, and banishment, between the 23d of October 1641, and the same day 1652.

If Ireland had continued in peace for the said 11 years, then the 1,446,000 had increased by generation, in that time, 73,000 more, making in all 1,519,000, which were, by the said wars, brought, *anno* 1652, to 850,000; so that there were lost 689,000 souls, for whose blood somebody should answer both to God and the king.

Anno 1653, debentures were freely and openly sold for 4s. and 5s. per pound. And 20s. of debenture, one place with another, did purchase two acres of land, at which rate all the land of Ireland, if it were eight millions of profitable acres, might have been had for a million of money, which, *anno* 1641, was worth above eight millions.

The cattle and stock was, *anno* 1641, worth above four millions; but *anno* 1652, the people of Dublin fetched meat from Wales, there being none here, and the whole cattle of Ireland not worth 500,000l.

Corn was then at 50s. per barrel, which is now, and was *anno* 1641, under 12s.

The houses of Ireland, *anno* 1641, were worth two millions and a half; but *anno* 1652, not worth 500,000l.

The 20 years' rent of all the land forfeited, by reason of the said rebellion, viz. since the year 1652 to 1673, hath not fully defrayed the charge of the English army in Ireland for the said time; nor doth the said rents, at this day, do the same with half as much more, or above 100,000l. *per annum* more*.”

But though a further effusion of blood, and a continuation of the ravages and calamities of war, were thus prevented, the mutual enmity of the Protestants and Roman Catholics still continued unabated. That of the latter

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, pages 312-13-14-15-16.

was immensely aggravated, and effectually confirmed. The invaders, the victors, the dispossessors, were Protestants; the invaded, the vanquished, the dispossessed, were Roman Catholics. Their respective interests were repugnant. Their manners and habits were dissimilar. Their languages were different. Their sentiments were incompatible. Their principles were irreconcilable. And each brooded incessantly over the past atrocities of the other. The projects of ambitious rebels had been frustrated; the expectations of avaricious rebels balked; the lands of opulent rebels confiscated in millions of acres*; and all became a prey to the wildest despair imaginable. Thus was their hatred sharpened to the utmost, and their desire of revenge to the utmost quickened. And thus did the elements of intestine war acquire additional energy. Peace, however, resulting, not from a terrifying retrospect of the multitudinous evils of war, but from a conscious inability, on the part of the Roman Catholics, to contend against the protestants, with even the faintest prospect of success, continued for upwards of thirty years.

At length the infatuated James, yielding to the impolitic counsels of men who, perhaps, might have governed a religious fraternity well, but who were utterly ignorant of the government of an empire; and taught to regard the Irish Roman Catholics as fit instruments for the accomplishment of his visionary and despotic projects, gradually raised, invigorated, and encouraged them.

By the obsequious forbearance, or constrained acquiescence of Clarendon, and the indefatigable exertions of the zealous and plenipotent Tyrconnel, they were once more prepared to renew the terrible conflict †; and animated by no ordinary combination of forcible motives, recurred to arms; after incautiously co-operating with their bigoted sovereign, in persecuting their Protestant countrymen without measure and without remorse; and thus, in some degree, justifying that severe retaliation which they themselves were soon after to experience.

Eheu,

Quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam. ‡

* "Upon the final execution of the acts of settlement and explanation, it appears by the Down survey, that 7,800,000 acres of land were set out by the court of Claims, principally, if not wholly, in exclusion of the old Irish proprietors." *Earl of Clars's speech*, 23d March 1793.

† Clarendon's Letters passim.

‡ Hor. L. 1. S. 2.

But:

But England was not then, as on the preceding occasion, paralysed by internal commotions. The prince who had ascended the abdicated throne was an experienced general and a sound politician. The visionary James was greatly overmatched. The Irish Roman Catholics were, in consequence, completely vanquished; stripped of political power; hurled from every post of trust and emolument; and almost entirely dispossessed of their remaining lands*.

The work of vengeance, however, was not yet finished: nor could it perhaps have terminated thus, consistently with the weakness and wickedness inseparable from human nature. The Irish Protestants, still horrified by the remembrance of the ferocious massacre of 1641; recollecting the havoc and misery of the long war which succeeded that event; dreading a repetition of the tyrannical measures, the relentless and, for the most part, unprovoked persecution from which they had been recently rescued; and a renewal of those bloody scenes which they had just survived; yielding, in short, to the united impulse of revenge and fear, and thereby hurried beyond the bounds of political honour and prudence, resorted, in the following reign, when they were rather encouraged to do so, to every expedient which legislative ingenuity could supply, however likely to prove ultimately detrimental to themselves, with a view of reducing their inveterate enemies, the Roman Catholics, to absolute and irremediable political impotence.

A code of defensive and preventive statutes, bearing the stamp of the passions by which it was originated, was in the end compiled: a code which was not merely limited to the preclusion of hostilities, on the part of the Roman Catholics; but extended to the abolition of their venerated religion; which, in Ireland, had scarcely ever been fairly combated by the only weapons that ever should have been employed against it, the pens or tongues and attractive examples of Protestants: a code which impeded the progress of the former in the paths of industry; thwarted every species of laudable ambition by which they might have been actuated; placed them on the footing of aliens in their native land; exposed them to vexations, outrages and spoliation; reduced them almost to the condition of slaves;

* The forfeitures, on this occasion, amounted to 1,060,792 Irish, or 1,718,307 English acres. "There goes," said Louis XIV. as King James passed by, "my worthy brother, who has lost three kingdoms for a mass."

obstructed matrimonial alliances between them and the Protestants, from whence, it is probable, the happiest effects might have flowed; and, worse than all, held forth incitements to filial contumacy, to a violation of one of the commandments of God; and introduced among them principles of duplicity and treachery*. A code, which, while it oppressed, and seemed to overwhelm the Roman Catholics, facilitated the obtrusion of those jealous measures, those commercial restraints which had long the effect of retaining one of the fairest portions of the globe in a state of poverty and political insignificance †.

The massacre of 1641, which had been industriously exhibited in the most horrifying colours, together with the cruel persecution experienced during the short reign of King James in Ireland, both still fresh in the recollection of the Protestants, necessarily heightened their animosity to the utmost: while repeated discomfitures and disasters, and aggravated oppression, together with the accumulated misery produced by this revengeful code, certainly inconsistent with the principles of sound policy and true religion, naturally rendered the hatred of the Roman Catholics virulent beyond example. An unparalleled combination of irritating, maddening circumstances fomented, on both sides, the most rancorous malignity. The idea of a Protestant in the mind of a Roman Catholic, and that of the latter in the mind of the former, now became closely associated with every idea that could engender wrath, malice, and vengeance in the heart of man. Each abhorred the other: each longed for the extirpation of the other. And it seems nowise improbable that the more powerful of the two would have proceeded to still greater extremities than it did, had not the government of Britain, the will whereof had generally the efficacy of a fundamental law in the Irish legislative assembly, been directed by a certain Machiavelian maxim, which does not appear to have been wholly discarded, at least before the accomplishment of the Union.

Thus, among countrymen, among the friendly, cheerful and hospitable people of Ireland, among Christians, among those who looked forward

* 7 W. III. c. 4.—7 W. III. c. 5.—9 W. III. c. 1.—9 W. III. c. 3.—10 W. III. c. 13.—2 A. c. 3.—2 A. c. 6. 6 A. c. 6.—8 A. c. 3.—2 G. I. c. 9.—29 G. II. c. 6.

† The inefficacy of this code, as far as it was directed to the suppression of the Roman Catholic religion, stands evinced by this incontrovertible fact, that the actual proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants is much greater than at the commencement of the last century.

to eternal happiness through the mediation of the same Saviour, among those who adored the same Trinity, among those who agreed in all the essential points of religion *, the maintenance of a few different speculative articles, and the observance of a few different rites, confessedly inoperative in social life, and consequently unworthy of serious notice, being unhappily combined with opposite interests, being coeval and concurrent with the most energetic principles of discord, serving as the tests, symbols, or distinctive characters of two parties inveterately and unappeasably hostile to each other, became at length, what in their natural unconnected state they could never possibly have become, alimentary to the most vehement detestation.

—But time, as in all other cases, produced a change. Blood had long ceased to flow. The Roman Catholics who had been plundered and excluded from political power gradually disappeared. Their children, born in obscurity and indigence, felt not so severely as they did, the privation of wealth and power. The proximate causes of former conflicts grew less numerous, and had lost their united energy. The true heirs of confiscated lands, scattered through the armies of foreign princes, removed to the other side of the Atlantick, or existing in a state of the profoundest ignorance at home, became generally unknown. Their titles likewise were, for the most part, merely traditionary; and in the event of a revolution, as was perceived by all reflecting men, would necessarily have furnished matter of endless litigation. No symptom of approaching convulsions appeared. The fears of the Protestants began to subside, and with their fears their hatred began to wane. Those who had experienced persecution from the Roman Catholics had been succeeded by those who, from their infancy, had seen them in a state of abasement and debilitating proseription. The execution of the penal laws was consequently mitigated: and the exuberant animosity of the Roman Catholics thereby checked.

* There are several points of approximation between the Church of England Protestants and the Roman Catholics, which many of both overlook. The following extracts, from the Common Prayer book of the former, will sufficiently shew the truth of this observation to the latter. The *Abolution*.—and hath given power, and commandment to his Ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the Abolution and Remission of their sins, &c. *Creed*.—I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church; the communion of Saints, &c. *Catechism*.—*Q.* What is the inward part, or thing signified? *A.* The body and blood of Christ, which are verily, and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper.

Still, however, there subsisted a high degree of mutual distrust and hatred between the jarring sects of Irish Christians. Contradictory histories of past events, equally false, and equally calculated to perpetuate the ruinous mutual hatred and repulsion of the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, issued alternately from the pens of each. Vague and venomous expressions, the offspring of ignorance and malice, usurped the place of warranted declamation and substantial practical reasoning. The groundless and mischievous suggestions of querulous unrelenting age made lasting impressions on susceptible credulous youth. The mere unaided consideration of a difference of religion had still the magic power of repressing confidence between man and man, of alienating fellow-subjects from each other, of impeding the exercise of social virtues, and, not unfrequently, promoting the practice of injustice.

The transmission of these uncharitable practices and feelings, from one generation to another, was, in a great degree, ultimately ascribable to the aggregated laws against popery. These laws, in conjunction with that system of commercial restraints, to which, however injurious to themselves, the Protestants, detached from their Roman Catholic countrymen, and relying on Britain alone for protection against them, were easily induced to submit, retained the latter in a state of poverty, ignorance, and separation from the former, and from the rest of the world; and thus favoured the duration of their ancient prejudices, and occasioned among them excessive bigotry and illiberality of sentiment, necessarily tending to nourish, among their Protestant countrymen, that hapless aversion which had, as yet, been but partially alluaged.

Those Roman Catholics who might have been qualified for the attainment of riches and distinction were prevented, by the disadvantages and disabilities under which their body laboured, from raising themselves, by their industry, or their talents, to a level with the higher ranks of Protestants. And those few, whose small estates had accidentally escaped confiscation, and who by their birth were intitled to eminence in the Irish community, were generally educated in foreign countries, and frequently discouraged from residing in their own, by well grounded apprehensions of experiencing such treatment there, as would have hurt their pride, or imbittered their lives.

Hence it happened, that between the Roman Catholics and the superior classes of the Protestants, whose political sentiments generally influenced the

the conduct of those below them, there was no familiar intercourse to smoothe the asperities contracted in seasons of turbulence, and to furnish fit opportunities for rectifying misconceptions, dissipating prejudices, abating bigotry, exploding intolerance and suppressing religious enmity; no extensive communications of ideas; no conformity of opinions; no coincidence of pursuits; no reciprocal discharge of the greater relative duties; no coalitions of interest; few mutual obligations; few individual friendships; in short, no means of generating, among Irishmen of all ranks and persuasions, confidence, concord and amity*.

Had the Roman Catholics been permitted to thrive by every species of industry to which they might have inclined, and to employ their accumulating riches in the purchase of land; and had those among them, who already possessed estates, been treated with indulgence and due respect, and occasionally gratified by the favours of government; there would gradually have been created and preserved an opulent respectable order of men, naturally interested in maintaining the tranquillity, and promoting the welfare of their country; and who would, in the course of time, have become connected with the higher orders of the Protestants by the various ties of social life; have concurred with them in political views; and formed a point of contact between them and the lower orders of the Roman Catholics, from whence both might have derived the most important advantages. But either the arguments against liberal and conciliatory measures, which every disinterested man of reflection is actually prepared to refute and reprobate, were then sufficiently strengthened by circumstances whereof, for the most part, we have now lost sight; or, which is the more probable of the two, the potent and jealous auxiliaries of the Protestants considered it as an indispensable part of state policy, to keep Ireland in a depressed condition, by the disunion of its inhabitants.

As for the middle and lower orders of Protestants, with whom alone the Roman Catholics could associate on equal terms of hospitality, the exclu-

* The writer has heard a certain dignified clergyman of the Protestant church, who is universally esteemed for good sense, conciliatory manners, liberality towards the Roman Catholics, becoming zeal for his own religion, and exemplary assiduity in the discharge of his appropriate functions, define an Irish Protestant thus, "a man who d—ns the Papists and never goes to church." And there certainly are not wanting some grounds for assenting to the justness of this jocular definition.

five favour and protection which the former enjoyed, on account of their appropriate exercise of the valuable right of election, had rendered them, for the most part, at least in the three Roman Catholic provinces, intolerably presumptuous, insolent and offensive to the latter; while other circumstances contributed to repress every tendency to cordiality on the part of these; and eventually on that of those.

The patronage of Ireland, in all its ramifications, was extended to Protestants alone. Not only was envy thus excited among those few leading Roman Catholics who were intitled, by birth and fortune, to aspire to the more exalted places of trust and emolument; but hatred in addition to envy, among their inferiours. Those various subordinate offices, which are at least as invidious as lucrative, were almost uniformly filled by Protestants; a practice, which, if considered in all its distant effects, may possibly be found little inferior in impolicy to any other practice, measure or law whereby the Roman Catholics were affected. The hearth-money collectors, the officers of excise and customs, the tithe-proctors, constables, bailiffs, jailors and all those different officers, the discharge of whose duties is every where attended with much unpopularity, and was particularly odious to the lower orders of Irish Roman Catholics, were, with very few exceptions, Protestants.

Moreover, in the courts of law, where, under our unrivalled system of jurisprudence, every criminal and suitor has a right to experience the exercise of lenity and impartiality, almost all the officers, from the judge to the crier, generally even the interpreters, were Protestants; and Irish Protestants, it may well be suspected, were not always unbiaffed by party considerations; at least Irish Roman Catholics were far from being in the habit of thinking them so; and of course suspected, what there can be little doubt they sometimes found, disadvantageous defects in the administration of justice.

The soldiers likewise were all nominally, and before the middle of the last century, really Protestants; and the soldiers of the King of England were long regarded, by the conquered Roman Catholic Irish, as ready enemies, rather than steady defenders.

This practice of selecting the different agents of the executive power from among the Protestants, may reasonably be supposed to have had no inconsiderable effect in extending, as well as prolonging the alienation of the
Roman

Roman Catholics. For, as these last constituted a very great majority of the lower class of the governed, and as government is generally considered by a semi-barbarous people, such as the Roman Catholic Irish were, while they laboured under the rigours of the popery laws, rather as a system of painful restraints, than as an institution supplying the means of individual security, there seems sufficient ground for suspecting that they were not only estranged from, and frequently exasperated against the Protestants employed by the executive power; but that by an association of ideas, sufficiently likely among ignorant people, they extended their antipathy from a set of vexatious agents to all other persons of the same communion.

Had the Roman Catholics been permitted to participate the odium, ordinarily attached to the exercise of several of the subordinate functions of the executive power, it is highly probable that the Protestant establishments would have been equally secure; and very certain that much less envy and much less hatred would have subsisted among Irish Christians; and that Ireland would, in consequence, have fallen much less low in the scale of European nations.

But the Irish popery laws, by their effects on the Roman Catholic clergy, tended still further to foment religious enmity. The scanty revenues collected incidentally by this order of men, among their beggarly parishioners, were scarcely adequate to their maintenance. Their dwellings, generally speaking, were wretched hovels. Their places of worship seldom better*. And they themselves were exposed to the operation of rigorous laws, to the contumelies of brutal country squires, and to the occasional excesses of spleenetic magistrates. Hence, few Roman Catholics, in easy circumstances, could reconcile to their pride, or indeed to their sense of paternal duty, to devote their children to the service of their church. Still, however, several persons descended from once distinguished families belonged to that order. But a very great majority of the Roman Catholic clergy were observed to spring from the dregs of the people. Youths, probably rendered fanatic by the discipline of priests, wandered about as mendicant scholars; and thus procured the means of transporting themselves to some foreign university;

* In the report made to the House of Lords on the state of Popery, in 1731, it is stated that there were then in Ireland upwards of 100 huts, sheds, or moveable altars at which mass was celebrated.

where, in a state of the utmost degradation and exclusion from the company of their more respectable and enlightened fellow-students, they obtained a gratuitous education; wretched, no doubt, in the extreme; but such as was deemed to qualify them sufficiently for their future ministry. On returning to their native country, the principal literary acquisitions, of which the greater part of them could boast, were, a knowledge of monkish Latin, of scholastic theology, of obsolete and incredible legends, and of the more sophistical arguments employed by those polemics whom the early reformers had provoked: paltry acquisitions, which, besides, were often nearly lost amidst the drudgery of their profession. Ignorant, in general, of every branch of polite literature, with minds contracted by an incessant repetition of religious exercises, and enslaved by those impressions which had been seasonably made on them, when every circumstance conspired to render them susceptible of permanent impressions: with groveling and perverted thoughts, with incorrect and obscure ideas of moral obligations, unpractised in the relative duties of social life, and dependent, for their sustenance, on their professional labours; their conduct, as preachers of the word of God, as ministers of the religion of Christ, was, to the last degree, revolting in the minds of all enlightened men; and calculated, in a peculiar manner, to foster the mutual enmity of Protestants and Roman Catholics. With boisterous zeal, and in positive, coarse, and inconclusive language, they magisterially inculcated those tenets, which many an intelligent Roman Catholic deems it at present inexpedient to enlarge on. Their incoherent, wild, bugbear sermons, delivered with ludicrous vehemence and grimace, had no other object than to intimidate and bring into subjection the superstitious, besotted, barbarous rabble who composed their congregations. Truth, peace, honesty, clemency, industry, charity, forgiveness and brotherly love were very rarely the topics of their discourses. To enforce the barren observances of religion, or to excite a general horror of heresy, not to inculcate the practice of Christian virtues, was the general scope of all their endeavours. Their education, in a very great degree, and their mode of life, perhaps in a greater, disqualified them for the latter.

With regard to conversion, they exercised their utmost vigilance: vigilance which, in fact, was rendered necessary by the nature and straitness of their incomes; as every apostate from their religion withdrew a few shillings from their annual receipts; and every convert to it yielded them as much. Apostacy they accordingly denounced, on all occasions, as one of the
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the most heinous offences against heaven; and to aid in the work of profelytism to the Romish faith, they announced as one of the most meritorious services of a Christian. But fearing the failure of empty denunciations and declarations, they had recourse to other expedients also. To treat Protestants with indulgence, they considered as likely to facilitate the conversion of their people. Those few inflexible ones, therefore, who were within their reach, were frequently made to feel the effects of malevolence and bigotry. And those few Roman Catholics who accidentally seceded from their religion, and very few there were, they subjected, as far as they could, to the penalties of excommunication; excluding them from the kind offices, and exposing them to the malice of their neighbours. They even decried their moral characters; and, in the lapse of time, disallowed their lineage. Such conduct often reached the ears of the Protestant gentry; and necessarily became highly instrumental in keeping up the declining mutual enmity of the members of the discordant communions. In scarcely any respect whatever, did the generality of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, during the operation of the popery laws, resemble that venerable body of men who now superintend the spiritual concerns of four millions of people. The pastoral zeal, the moral worth, the piety, the ardent patriotism, the just sentiments of loyalty *, the extensive erudition, the generosity, the politeness, and the apparent liberality which, at this day, are so frequently found among the Roman Catholic clergy, in every diocese in Ireland, and which have raised them to an exalted place in the esteem of every unprejudiced Irish Protestant †; and attracted towards their order a very considerable degree of respect from all quarters; were very far from being the distinguishing characteristics of the Roman Catholic clergy before His present Majesty's reign.

* Instances of resolute loyalty, on the part of Roman Catholic clergymen, have been recorded in recent histories written under the impulse of principles unfavourable to the Roman Catholic body.

† The writer is in possession of a vast number of letters from different Roman Catholic clergymen, partly addressed to himself, on various occasions, and partly to each other. Of these letters he can truly say that the sound sense, loyal sentiments, patriotic, polished, and liberal language which distinguish them, for the most part, do honour to the heads and hearts of those by whom they were written. Having obtained permission to publish one of them, descriptive of the present condition of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, the reader will find it marked 29 in the Appendix. It contains a detail of facts little known; and is therefore extremely worthy of attention.

SECTION II.

Gradual Decline of religious Enmity, and Commencement of national Prosperity in Ireland.

BUT that religious enmity, which had so long been the peculiar curse of Ireland, began to decline, in a very perceptible manner, notwithstanding the existence of all those causes of irritation which have just been noticed. The Protestants became very generally impressed with the necessity of abrogating the greater part of the penal statutes. And the exigencies of Ireland began to suggest the necessity of an union, or a compromise between them and the Roman Catholics; or, at least, a discontinuance of practices indicative of their reciprocal alienation.

The rupture between Britain and her colonies had made it necessary to transport across the Atlantic a considerable part of the forces belonging to the Irish establishment*. And the then tranquil state of Ireland, together with the apparently pacific disposition of France, rendered it safe to do so. The hostile intentions, however, of the ancient enemy of Britain soon becoming manifest, the Protestants of Ireland thought it prudent to arm in defence of their country.

About this time, there passed an act, 17 and 18 G. III. c. 13, for establishing a Protestant militia. But whether owing to the then inconvenient expense attendant thereon, or to the rapid increase of the volunteers, which superseded the necessity of other troops, the government declined to carry the act into effect. The volunteer force, rapidly increasing, soon exceeded 40,000; and comprised almost the whole of the Protestant landed proprietors, merchants, and other persons of substance in Ireland. Those who first took up arms do not appear to have had any other object in view than merely the defence of Ireland against external foes. But before the volunteer army amounted to the number just mentioned, the release

* The forces in 1756 consisted of 688 horse, 1,188 dragoons, and 9,770 foot, making together 11,646, besides artillery and invalids. In 1777. the effective forces amounted to 3616. In 1779. it was generally understood that the effectives fell considerably short of 5,000. In 1782, the number returned to parliament was 5,709. The permanent military establishment, as settled 1st January 1692, was 360 horse, 1,244 dragoons, 10,680 foot; in all 12,284.

of their country from the oppression to which it had long been obliged to submit, became an additional object to all, and was the primary motive of a vast majority.

The effects ultimately occasioned by this oppression, and likewise those which are almost inseparable from war, began to be generally and severely felt. In every corps of volunteers there were found several individuals who had sufficient ground for complaint. The woollen and silk manufactures, which had long struggled under the greatest disadvantages, were almost utterly destroyed. The export of linens was greatly reduced. The general trade of Ireland was diminished. The rent of land was declining. And the sources of the public revenue became much less productive*.

At the different meetings of the volunteers the affairs of their country seldom failed to be narrowly canvassed. These military associations brought men of different ranks and descriptions into contact with each other. The connection of their respective interests was, in consequence, more strongly impressed on the minds of all. The public papers teemed with ingenious political disquisitions, well written essays, and energetic addresses and resolutions, calculated either to disclose the causes of the actual distresses of Ireland; to render the people impatient under the grievances which they experienced; or to inspire them with confidence in their means of redress. An ardent flame of patriotism was kindled throughout the land; and almost every Irishman felt a strong desire to seize the lucky opportunity, which then presented itself, for rescuing his country from commercial thralldom; and resuming, or asserting those political rights which had been usurped or habitually exercised by Britain, and tamely or rather treacherously acquiesced in, or sanctioned by the obsequious parliament of Ireland. Many of the descendants of the soldiers of Cromwell, who were numerous in Ireland, became animated with sentiments similar to those which prevailed in England in the reign of the unfortunate Charles.

The intelligent and real patriots who, from the commencement of the colonial war, had looked anxiously forward to some emergency likely to enable Ireland to attain her proper place among European nations, appear to have been influenced by a just persuasion of the incompetence of the Protestants to accomplish the liberation of Ireland, or at least to fix her welfare

* The gross produce of the hereditary revenue for two years ending in 1769, was 1,309,828l. 5s. 7½d. and for two years ending in 1779, 1,175,145l. 6s. 5¾d.

on a permanent basis, in the event of the Roman Catholics, who constituted the great body of the people, being left in a state of discontent, of neutrality or indifference with regard to her prosperity and strength: for such may truly be said to have been their case during the continuance of the penal laws. They had also observed that these tyrannical laws and their immediate results had been the primary causes of the political weakness and infelicity of Ireland; "that, to use the words employed by an eminent adversary of the Roman Catholics, on a subsequent occasion, they were highly injurious to the landed interest of Ireland, and had diminished the value of every man's estate who voted for them*;" and "that, to use the words of the same nobleman, religious bigotry, and religious distinctions had proved the source of bitter calamity to the people of Ireland †." They had likewise seen, through the medium of authentic documents, that these laws had been far from producing the effects expected from them ‡: that their

* Speech of Lord Clare in the House of Lords 13th March 1793.

† Id.

‡ Number of certificates of conformity filed in the court of Chancery from passing the first act to prevent the further growth of popery to 1708, inclusive—

Years.	Cert.
1703	4
1704	16
1705	3
1706	5
1707	2
1708	7

Total 37

From passing the 2d act to prevent the further growth of popery, 8 An. (1709) to November 1773.

Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.	Years.	Cert.
1709	38	1726	35	1743	54	1760	84
1710	28	1727	39	1744	48	1761	150
1711	10	1728	31	1745	48	1762	108
1712	13	1729	34	1746	50	1763	126
1713	7	1730	39	1747	88	1764	104
1714	10	1731	62	1748	46	1765	101
1715	10	1732	50	1749	58	1766	130
1716	8	1733	43	1750	71	1767	124
1717	19	1734	99	1751	41	1768	210
1718	12	1735	61	1752	65	1769	169
1719	38	1736	39	1753	70	1770	132
1720	24	1737	50	1754	79	1771	117
1721	33	1738	58	1755	69	1772	88
1722	35	1739	59	1756	67	1773	60
1723	35	1740	71	1757	93		
1724	27	1741	68	1758	73		
1725	41	1742	45	1759	88		
						Total	4,097

effects

effects were inverfely proportioned to the induftry with which they were enforced: and that notwithstanding an annual acceffion of Proteftants, for at leaft 30 fucceffive years, from charter fchools *, foundling hofpitals, and other nurseries of Proteftantifm, the Roman Catholic population had increafed with greater rapidity than that of the Proteftants †.

The

* In the 25th number of the Appendix, the reader will find an account of the parliamentary grants to the Incorporated Society for promoting Proteftant charter-fchools fince the year 1745. Thefe grants, together with the appropriated duties, appear to have amounted to 612,273l. Befides which, the Society derived a very great augmentation of revenue from the rent of eftates, legacies, donations, &c. &c. Had the money, which was granted by Parliament to this Society, been employed in eftablifhing Englifh agricultural families in different parts of Ireland, the Proteftants would ultimately have experienced a much greater acceffion of numbers; and, what was of infinitely greater importance, examples of induftry, fkill, frugality, and refpect for the laws would have been every where fet. The total number of children apprenticed fince the eftablifhment of the fchools, is 7,203. But of this number, it may be confidered as a fact, that at leaft one half embraced the Roman Catholic religion. The marriage portions paid amounted to 819 only.

† Among many other pregnant facts, the following feem to evince a rapid increafe of the Roman Catholic population. The number of Proteftants formed into troops and companies, in the year 1715, was 37,348. The diftrict corps, in 1799, when the fafety of the ftate required the aid of loyal men as much as in the year 1715, contained only 37,539 men, including Roman Catholics. The number of Proteftants arrayed in the militia, in 1756, was 148,767. The number of men in the diftrict corps, in 1803, when all loyal and reflecting men had become fufficiently aware of the urgency of taking up arms in defence of king and conftitution, was only 84,941. This number comprifed a very great majority of the Proteftants capable of bearing arms, in the provinces of Leinfter, Munfter, and Connaught: indeed in very many diftricts every Proteftant, who could bear arms, did fo. But it alfo comprifed a great proportion of Roman Catholics. In feveral corps in the fouth; they outnumbered the Proteftants. For the militia in 1756, Dublin city furnifhed 11,772 Proteftants, Cork 3,000, Limerick 1,500, Waterford 800, Kilkenny 404, and Galway 120. But it may well be queftioned whether they could furnifh more, or even fo many, at prefent, notwithstanding the very great general increafe of people fince the year 1756. The men capable of bearing arms are generally computed to be one-fifth of the inhabitants. That Dublin does not, even at prefent, contain 58,860 Proteftants, or Cork 15,000, or Limerick 7,500, or Waterford 4,000, or Kilkenny 2,020, or Galway 600, moft perfons who know thefe cities will readily believe.

The population of the diocefe of Cloyne, in the county of Cork, as returned by the Proteftant Bifhop to the Committee on the ftate of Popery in the year 1731, confifted of 14,200 Proteftants and 80,500 Roman Catholics, as may be feen in the Lords Journals of that year. The latter, therefore, were not more than about 5½ to 1 of the former. From

Two important truths, confirmed by the experience of ages, but uniformly overlooked in Ireland, namely, that religion thrives and spreads

the best information the writer has been able to collect, they are actually upwards of 15 to 1. The Protestant country gentlemen of that diocese will probably confirm the information. In the parishes (according to the Roman Catholic division) of Mallow, Youghal, Kilworth, Macroom, Cloyne, Dounaghmore, Mitcheltown, Charleville, Doneraile and Kanturk, there were baptized, in the year 1807, as below, 2,656 children of Roman Catholic parents*. This number, according to the proportion of baptisms to inhabitants in the Table marked XXII. illustrative of the population of the diocese of Ross, and which was formed with the most scrupulous precision and fidelity, gives 63,744 inhabitants in only 10 parishes or unions, some of them, no doubt, very large; but some of them, Youghal for instance, having a much greater proportion of Protestants than is to be found in the other parishes of the diocese.

According to the returns in Dr. Smith's History of Cork, vol. i. p. 407, there were, in the whole county, in 1732-3, 22,600 Protestants, and 184,915 Roman Catholics. So that the latter then, throughout the whole county, were under 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 of the former.

In the foregoing parishes, belonging to the diocese of Cloyne, there appear to be 63,744
In the diocese of Ross there are 72,265,

In 25 unions, in the diocese of Cork, the baptisms in the year 1807, were 5,065,
and consequently the inhabitants at 24 to 1 121,520

In five unions, in the same diocese, whereof no returns of baptisms were obtained,
but the number computed from the others, 195 baptisms each, or in all 975, 23,400

In seven unions belonging to the united diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoc, but in
the county of Cork 1,255 baptisms, 30,120

In 32 unions in the diocese of Cloyne, from whence no returns were made, the
number of Roman Catholic inhabitants, computed as before, is 149,760.

Making a total of 460,809

With regard to this account it is proper to observe, first, that the returns of births from some of the unions in the diocese of Cork are incomplete. Secondly, that five of the parishes in the same diocese, though denominated unions in the foregoing account, are but constituent parts of unions; there being only 25 Roman Catholic unions in that diocese, exclusive of the city of Cork; and that the reason for their being considered distinctly was on account of distinct returns of baptisms being made from them. And thirdly, that the proportion of inhabitants to baptisms, viz. 24 to 1, is lower than in most other countries; and has been used in this computation, merely because it was found to be the proportion in the dio-

• Mallow	400	Mitcheltown	304
Youghal	315	Charleville	218
Kilworth	234	Doneraile	240
Macroom	127	Kanturk	337
Cloyne	264		
Dounaghmore	217		2,656

cese

spreads under persecution, and that union is requisite to national vigour, began to make deep and effective impressions on the minds of reflecting men. These truths, accompanied by a well-grounded persuasion of the urgency of harmonizing the rival religions of Ireland, and diffusing among Irishmen a becoming and beneficial solicitude for the prosperity of their country, instead of a paltry paralyzing zeal for the preponderance of a particular sect of religion, acted as the directing stars of those who had opportunely undertaken to rescue their countrymen from political bondage.

The conciliatory language and conduct naturally suggested by this persuasion, by these truths, and by a retrospective view of the sufferings of Ireland, soon became prevalent, nay almost universal among the Protestant

ce of Ross, and in several detached parishes, where a most accurate enumeration and investigation took place.

Kerseboom reckons births to inhabitants at 1 in 35.

The proportion in France, as appears by Mr. Young's account, is 1 to 25.

Gregory King states the proportion in England to be 1 to 28, 85.

In the healthful parish of Stoke Damerill, in Devonshire, it is stated, in the Philosophical Transactions, to be 1 to $27\frac{6}{11}$.

Now, if the Protestants, in the County of Cork, bear a greater proportion to the Roman Catholics than as 1 to 15, then there must be more than 491,529 inhabitants, exclusive of those of the city, which, at six to each house on an average, would give 81,921 houses, which is 5,067 more than returned in both the county and city in 1791. Indeed, as appearances and local enumerations evince a greater increase of houses since that year, the proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants, in the county of Cork, ought not, perhaps, to be considered so high as 15 to 1; but even so the proportion of the former to the latter has nearly doubled since the year 1732.

By the report of the committee, in 1731, it appeared that, in the county of Mayo, the Roman Catholics were to the Protestants as 12 to 1. But when we find, by the returns of Protestant clergymen, for which see table marked 28, in the Appendix, that in eleven parishes, or unions, in the diocese of Tuam, there are only 85 Protestant families to 4,408 Roman Catholic families, and that in the extensive union of Newport all the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, we may very well believe that the proportion of these to the Protestants is more than twice as great as in the year 1731, notwithstanding the pains then, and subsequently, taken to diminish it.

By the same report it appears that there were in the dioceses of Cork, Ross, and Cloyne 65 popish schools; and in all Ireland 549. By the table, marked 26, in the Appendix, these appear to be, in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross, which form one diocese in the Roman Catholic hierarchy, 316 schools kept by Roman Catholics; which is 252 more than in the three dioceses in 1731, and within 133 of the whole number then in Ireland.

volunteers; and was productive of the happiest effects. To behold 40,000 Protestants completely armed, highly disciplined, acting in concert, uncontrollable by government, and yet not only declining to manifest, in any shape, their hereditary enmity towards the Roman Catholics; but displaying, on all occasions, the utmost liberality of sentiment, was sufficient to dissipate that combination of terror and abhorrence which the latter had so long laboured under: and the unexpected and pleasing spectacle appears to have had, in a great degree, that effect. Almost every individual in the towns and in the country, of every rank and every persuasion, held the volunteer army in the highest esteem; amply and cheerfully administered to its occasional necessities; and received it, when on march, with unfeigned joy, and unbounded hospitality. The populace were devotedly attached to it. The kind and generous treatment which the Roman Catholics, almost every where, experienced, was equal, in its general effects, to a repeal of all those oppressive laws to which they were still subjected. Nay, it was much better calculated to extinguish their well-warranted hatred than such repeal, accompanied by those irritating expressions of distrust and detestation, those invidious preferences, and that general alienating conduct which have unfortunately been, of late years, too prevalent among Protestants, under the influence of opinions hastily formed, in a season of turbulence, or in the midst of those sanguinary excesses which uniformly mark the progress of an unbridled revolutionary rabble, be their religion what it may: for penal and disqualifying laws do not always operate as sources of equal and unremitting misery to all those who are exposed to them; but when one description of the people is exclusively favoured by the government, and under that favour indulges, on all occasions, its antipathy to another, with which it must necessarily intermix in the ordinary business of social life, every unoffending individual of the latter becomes liable to almost as much real vexation, as the transgressor of many a penal law could ultimately feel.

During the period which we are considering, it is also to be observed, that there happened none of those tumultuous risings which were, at all other times, so common in Ireland; and that the laws were strictly enforced in the most remote parts of the country. It is likewise to be remarked, that the few Roman Catholics who were admitted into the volunteer corps, before the year 1780, felt highly flattered and gratified by their admission,

as the writer had opportunities of witnessing; and shewed themselves, in an eminent manner, trust-worthy and zealous: a fact which goes far to sanction the persuasion, that in the event of their being raised to those posts, in the state, from which they are still excluded, government would have abundant reason to be pleased and satisfied with their fidelity and exertions.

But the Protestant patriots of Ireland did not limit themselves to professions of amity towards their Roman Catholic countrymen, to expressions of confidence in them, and to such conduct, in social life, as corresponded therewith. They wisely and magnanimously did more: they evinced the sincerity of their professions by anticipating the natural wishes of the Roman Catholics. A bill for their relief was brought into Parliament, and passed into a law. The preamble to this act (17 & 18 G. III. c. 49.) is worthy of particular attention; inasmuch as it contains certain indisputable truths which should, on every occasion, and more especially at present, govern the conduct of Irish Protestants towards their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. It proceeds thus: "Whereas by an act made in this kingdom in the 2d year of Her late Majesty Queen Anne, entitled *an act to prevent the further growth of popery*, and also by another act made in the eighth year of her said reign for explaining and amending the said act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made subject to several disabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned, and whereas FROM THEIR UNIFORM PEACEABLE BEHAVIOUR FOR A LONG SERIES OF YEARS, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same, and IT MUST TEND NOT ONLY TO THE CULTIVATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THIS KINGDOM, BUT TO THE PROSPERITY AND STRENGTH OF ALL HIS MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS, THAT HIS SUBJECTS OF ALL DENOMINATIONS SHOULD ENJOY THE BLESSINGS OF OUR FREE CONSTITUTION, AND SHOULD BE BOUND TO EACH OTHER BY MUTUAL INTEREST, AND MUTUAL AFFECTION." It then enables Roman Catholics to take leases for 999 years certain, or determinable on lives not exceeding five. It renders their lands descendible, deviseable and transferable as those of others, with the proviso, however, of their taking and subscribing the oath and declaration of 13 & 14 G. III. c. 35, previously to their taking possession of the lands; and it virtually repeals the 3d section of the act 2 A. c. 6. which enacted that a maintenance or portion should be granted to any child of a popish parent, upon a bill being filed against such parent pursuant to that act; and it, moreover, withdraws the encouragement held forth by that act to the eldest son of a popish parent to conform,
viz.

viz. that of securing the descent of his father's real estate to himself, by rendering the former tenant for life in consequence of the conformity of latter.

The effect of this unfought-for act, in respect of conciliation, was very great. The manner in which the favour was conferred added considerably to its value.

At a subsequent period, when the elective franchise was extended to the Roman Catholics, they were hastily charged with a want of gratitude, whether with reason or not it is now unnecessary to inquire. If, however, they really were deficient therein, there can be no room for surprise or censure, as the right in question, ardently solicited, was granted in a most reluctant and ungracious manner; rather conceded through necessity, than bestowed through benevolence.

There was, moreover, another important effect produced by this relaxation of the popery laws, which deserves to be remembered; that of drawing the industry of the Roman Catholics to the land. The oppressed and restricted condition of the manufactures and trade of Ireland had almost extinguished a true commercial spirit among the Irish, especially among the Roman Catholics; and the popery laws, with reference to land, had completely discouraged the latter from engaging whatever capitals they had, in agricultural improvements or speculations. Those who had amassed any wealth were chiefly concerned, either directly or indirectly, in a simple provision trade, and in the obscure and mixed internal traffic of the country towns. But as soon as these laws were repealed, the more wealthy Roman Catholics, particularly in the south and west, hastened to transfer considerable parts of their capitals to the land; its permanent possession being rendered doubly gratifying by their former incapacities, and its cultivation being more congenial with their habits, and likely to prove more profitable than the prosecution of limited commerce and precarious manufactures. It accordingly appears, by returns made to Parliament, that from the year 1778 to the year 1792 no fewer than 12,073 Roman Catholics had taken and subscribed the oath and declaration of 17 & 18 G. III.; and of these, there can be no doubt that a very large majority did so with the sole view of such a lasting occupancy of the land as might, in most effects, be equal to the possession of the fee-simple.

The Roman Catholics being thus prudently and becomingly conciliated by the Protestants, the endeavours of a united people were assiduously directed

directed to remove the fetters which clogged the trade of Ireland. The whole Irish nation loudly, and with the efficacy of internal union, demanded an equitable freedom of commerce. Their representatives hitherto, for the most part, the mere agents of the British government, were overawed, and compelled, for once, to discharge the appropriate duties of the stations which they may be said to have in general usurped. Yielding to the desire of the nation, they declared, in an address to the King, that nothing except a free trade could save Ireland from ruin. But this being deemed insufficient, the mob of Dublin, consisting chiefly of starving manufacturers, were industriously taught to suspect that the Parliament would not exert itself in promoting the interest of Ireland; and under this impression (the volunteers, for the first time, standing aloof,) assaulted the members on their way to the House, crying out for a free trade and a short money bill. In this state of intimidation, two six months money bills were sent over to England, and passed the great seal. The mob well understood the limits within which they might expect forbearance on the part of the volunteers; and were both disinclined and afraid to transgress them.

The condition of Ireland, which now became a principle subject of discussion in the British Parliament, excited no small degree of alarm. The cruelty and impolicy of the restraints which affected her commerce were, at length, very generally admitted. It was seen and acknowledged that England had derived no benefit from repressing the trade of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, her acquisition of wealth had been greatly impeded by unwisely impoverishing a nation which might, and would have been her best customer, and from which riches would have been perpetually arriving through a variety of channels. In the case of the woollen manufacture, which England was so sedulous to annihilate in Ireland, she injured herself materially by so doing; as the redundant wool of the latter being, through necessity, smuggled into France, enabled the people of that country to rival those of Britain. Mr. Pitt, in his speech delivered on the 22d of February 1785, on introducing the commercial propositions, admitted, that "the species of policy which had been exercised by the government of England, in regard to Ireland, had for its object to debar the latter from the enjoyment of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the opulence and interests of England; that she had not been suffered to share in the bounties of nature, or the industry of her citizens; and that she was shut out from every species of commerce, and restrained from

from sending the produce of her own soil to foreign markets. He also observed that it required little philosophy to reconcile the people of England to a competition which would give them a rich customer instead of a poor one; and that instead of feeling uneasiness or jealousy at the increase of the commerce of Ireland, they should have reason to rejoice at the addition that would accrue to the common defence of the empire."

Under the impulse of just and liberal sentiments like these, but rather perhaps under that of fear, the British parliament became disposed to concede to the demands of the united people of Ireland. On the 13th of December 1779, Lord North introduced the following resolutions, which were assented to: viz. 1st, That it is expedient to repeal so much of any of the laws passed in Great Britain as prohibits the exportation from Ireland of all woollen manufactures; 2d, That it would be expedient to repeal so much of an act made in the 19th year of George II. as prohibits the exportation of glass from Ireland; 3d, That it would be expedient to allow the trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and the British settlements on the coasts of Africa to be carried on in like manner, and subject to the same regulations and restrictions as it is now carried on between Great Britain and the said colonies and settlements, &c. Besides these resolutions, his Lordship proposed, with the approbation of the House, to take off the prohibition to import foreign hops into Ireland; to enable His Majesty's Irish subjects to become members of the Turkey company, and to export woollens, in British or Irish ships, to the Levant; and to repeal the act that prohibited the exportation of gold coin from Great Britain to Ireland. The bill brought in by his Lordship, in pursuance of these propositions, was passed in January 1780.

In Ireland, an act was passed, viz. 19 & 20 G. III. c. 11. entitled an act for the advancement of trade, and for granting to His Majesty certain duties, &c. This abolished all duties, except alnage duties, payable upon the exportation of any goods or merchandize of the product or manufacture of Ireland to any other place but Great Britain, except those on certain goods and merchandize therein mentioned; it granted drawbacks on goods imported from other countries when exported to the British colonies in America or the West Indies, or the British settlements on the coast of Africa; it granted allowances on the exportation of Irish silks, plain or mixed with other materials, in proportion to the duties on the raw materials

terials thereof; it placed the Irish trade with America, the West Indies, and Africa on the same footing as the British trade therewith; it freed the importation of cotton wool from all duties; and gave a premium on the importation of indigo, &c.

These proceedings were highly gratifying to the people of Ireland; but far from being completely satisfactory. An extension of the commercial limits of Ireland was, no doubt, a great advantage, and was considered as such. But, a total want of the means of engaging in the carrying-trade, for which Ireland is so happily situated, and a want of protecting duties, in behalf of its languishing or infant manufactures rendered this advantage of little avail. In fact, the average value of the foreign goods exported from Ireland in the years 1781-2 was only 19,254*l.*, as may be seen in the table marked 11, in the Appendix; and at the time of opening the trade of Ireland, there was not a single manufacture in it, except the linen, in a flourishing state, or likely to be so: which indeed, as Ireland has never been suffered to thrive, may be said, with an exception or two, to have been nearly the case ever since. Her trade, exclusive of the linen, was the trade of a neglected, uncultivated country, the principal exports being beef, pork, butter, cattle, hides, tallow and wool. The quantity of corn exported was trifling, being on average of 8 years, ended in 1780, only 106,030 barrels of all sorts of grain and meal. But even if Ireland had been in a condition to turn this advantage to account, it could not have proved completely satisfactory; inasmuch as Britain still retained the usurped power of retracting it at any future period; and which there was not wanting sufficient reason to apprehend she would.

And here it seems not amiss to observe, upon the subject of popular or national discontent, that, as those who seek for a redress of grievances are either incapable of discovering, at first, all the latent and distant causes thereof, or are restrained from seeking a comprehensive redress at once, through fear lest its magnitude should induce an unlimited resistance to all their wishes; and as it is the nature of man to experience an equal degree of discontent so long as any grievance remains unredressed; so the progress of those who seek the redress of grievances is generally gradual, and marked by successive petitions, remonstrances or resolutions, each containing new matter for deliberation; and of course furnishing their opponents with plausible grounds for charging them with insatiable or unextinguishable

anextinguishable discontent, or with views inimical to the welfare of the state. It behoves the governing powers of a country, therefore, to consider seriously, at an early period, whether a redress of grievances, to the extent likely to be ultimately sought for, may be acceded to, consistently with the safety and welfare of the state; and, if it cannot, to make that firm and effectual resistance, which must always be easier in the first, than any subsequent stage; but if it can, to anticipate the wishes of the people, and magnanimously remove, at once, all justifiable grounds of discontent. Temporizing or half measures generally occasion, in the end, an increase of perplexity; and seldom, if ever, are productive of permanent good. These observations seem equally applicable to the peculiar grievances of the Irish Roman Catholics, and to the former political grievances of the Irish people. That the Roman Catholics could not be contented with a mere toleration of their religion, unless they were permitted to purchase land; that they could not, after obtaining this permission, be contented, unless they were allowed to exercise the right of voting; that they could not be contented with this right, unless they were permitted to engage in those professions wherein a laudable ambition might be gratified; that they would ultimately extend their views to an equitable participation with the Protestants of all the benefits of the civil constitution; that they could expect none of these advantages if they sought for all at once; and that resistance to their successive claims would be attended with increased embarrassment, in every stage, might certainly have occurred to any man capable of due reflection. It may therefore be questioned whether government would not have acted more prudently by keeping them, if it were possible, and if the interest of the Protestants would have admitted, in the abject and powerless condition in which they were, than by granting the greater part of their successive requests, thereby increasing their weight in the community, and afterwards pertinaciously opposing their just and warranted claims.

That the people of Ireland could not be content with permission to trade with all the world, unless they were enabled, by protecting duties or other means, to supply the manufactures which were in demand in foreign markets, and that they would still be equally discontented, unless Britain renounced the right she had assumed to restrain and regulate the commerce of Ireland, and to supersede the measures of her legislature; and,

and, finally, that the Irish people would experience dissatisfaction, unless placed, in a commercial point of view, on the same footing with their British fellow-subjects, were facts which could scarcely fail to make impressions on the minds of enlightened statesmen, and which soon became obvious to all.

On the 15th of February, 1782, at a meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of volunteers, at Dungannon, in the province of Ulster, where the Protestants and Protestant Dissenters are most numerous, it was resolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy-councils of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, were unconstitutional and a grievance; that a mutiny-bill, not limited in point of duration, from session to session, was unconstitutional and a grievance; that the ports of Ireland were, by right, open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. The representatives of these volunteers also declared, that they held the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as themselves; and that therefore as men, as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

This liberal and conciliatory declaration was contemporary with a further relaxation of the penal laws directed against the Roman Catholics. The Act 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 24. sets out with truly observing, that the continuance of the laws formerly enacted, and still in force against persons professing the Popish religion, is *injurious to the real welfare and prosperity of Ireland*. The act then enables Papists to purchase land; permits Popish clergy of all ranks to reside in the kingdom; withdraws penalties on persons refusing to appear and testify on oath when they heard mass said, and the names of those by whom it was celebrated, &c.; annuls the penalties on Papists having horses of a certain value; discontinues the levying of money on Papists to reimburse persons robbed by privateers; and also the obligation imposed on Papists

to provide Protestant watchmen ; and it grants permission to Papists to take or purchase houses and tenements in Limerick and Galway, from whence they had been particularly excluded.

To detect and exhibit, in suitable colours, the varied impolicy, cruelty, inutility and mischievous tendency of the popery laws which were abrogated before the year 1783, would be equally unnecessary and unseasonable. Irishmen, of both religions, are sufficiently impressed therewith; and it can scarcely be doubted that the history of their country, strikingly illustrative of the ruinous effects of religious persecution, will at all times effectually prevent a recurrence to laws in any respect analogous to them, whatever be the established religion of the country. It may, however, be observed, with reference to the inutility and impolicy of them, that although pains were unremittingly taken to drive away the superior and regular clergy of the Roman Catholic persuasion, Ireland was never, at any one period, perfectly freed from them * ; that government acted most unwisely in prohibiting the Roman Catholic bishops from residing, and exercising their functions in Ireland ; and that by annulling that prohibition, they have furnished themselves with a most desirable and most favourable opportunity of giving currency to those sentiments and principles, the prevalence whereof is requisite to the welfare of the country. Elevated, both by their revenues and rank, above the level of the other clergy, the Roman Catholic prelates form a necessary point of contact between the government and them. Their stations, and the talents for which they have been generally conspicuous, give them an un-

* According to Captain South's account, there were, in Ireland, in the year 1698, 495 regular, and 872 secular clergy of the church of Rome. According to the same account, the number of regulars shipped for foreign parts, by act of parliament, was 424 : viz. from Dublin 153, from Galway 170, from Cork 75, and from Waterford 26. *Phil. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 667.

According to the report of the committee on the state of popery, in the year 1731, there were discovered then in Ireland 254 friars and 9 nuns. According to the same report, there were 892 mass-houses, besides above 100 huts, sheds or moveable altars, 54 private chapels, 1,445 officiating priests, and 549 popish schools. *Lords Journals*, vol. iii. p. 210.

By the accounts presented to Parliament, it appears that the average annual amount of premiums for transporting priests and convicting burglary, for 16 years, to 1745, was 154l. 3s. 9d. ; and that the same, for 44 years ended in 1789, was 29l. 6s. 4½d. The premium for transporting priests having ceased after the year 1745, the sum of 124l. 17s. 4½d. may be considered as the average annual charge for that service.

limited

limited influence over their clergy. Their pastoral addresses have been of essential service in arresting or delaying the progress of disaffection. Their scrupulous and indefatigable discharge of their more appropriate duties has occasioned a very manifest improvement in the general character of their inferior clergy, and eventually in the morals of the people*. And the countenance which they have generally afforded to the instruction of the lower order, has eminently conduced to raise that order, contrary to the utterly erroneous opinion which seems to prevail in Britain, very far above the level of the same order there, in point of literary attainments †. Should it ever be resolved on to admit these prelates much more into the confidence of government than they have hitherto been, and to make such ample additions to their revenues as might enable them to associate completely with the higher orders of the community, it might reasonably be expected that these salutary effects would be produced in a still greater degree, and that others of at least an equally beneficial nature would ensue.

To return to historical facts:—the flame of patriotism become still more ardent by the spirited resolutions of the volunteers assembled at Duggan, and as yet, totally unrestrained by unbecoming apprehensions of the

* It will be seen by a very accurate return in the Appendix (marked 30), of the persons sentenced to be hanged or transported, in the county of Cork, containing near half a million of Roman Catholics, that, exclusive of the year of the rebellion, there were only 106 sentenced to be hanged, and 169 to be transported, in forty years, ended with 1807: of which number, by the way, a certain portion were probably Protestants; and of these there does not appear to have been a single individual hanged or transported for infanticide, sodomy, or bestiality; while, in England, in one year, viz. 1805, there were 27 females committed for the murder of their infants, and 15 men for sodomy and bestiality. The populous city of Cork, in which the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as about 7 to 2, (see table, marked 18, in the Appendix,) is freer from crimes of every kind than perhaps any city of equal magnitude in the world. It has not, and needs not a regular police. Several affizes have passed without a single capital conviction. Waterford, where the Roman Catholics are more numerous, is remarkable for supplying the judges with gold-fringed gloves.

† The Roman Catholic clergy have frequently been accused of endeavouring to keep their laity in ignorance. The very reverse, however, happens to be the fact. By looking to the table in the Appendix marked 26, the reader will find that, in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross alone, there are no fewer than 316 schools kept by Roman Catholics, and containing 21,892 scholars.

grateful

grateful Roman Catholics, urged Mr. Grattan, that intrepid and active assertor of his country's rights, to move an address to His Majesty, declarative of the legislative independence of Ireland. Government, with effect, resisted the address. That celebrated orator, however, renewed his patriotic endeavours; and on the 16th of April, had the enviable satisfaction to find himself at the head of a majority, created by his peculiar eloquence, which, on that occasion, was rendered unprecedentedly nervous and efficacious by the fervour and attachment of his countrymen. The 21 & 22 G. III. c. 47. rescued, from undue controul, the constitutional supremacy of the parliament of Ireland.

About this time, a body of volunteers, composed of Roman Catholics and Protestants indiscriminately, but chiefly of the former, was formed in Dublin, under the denomination of the Irish brigade. At a meeting of the 1st regiment of this brigade, on the 22d of December 1782, the resolutions of the Ulster volunteer delegates, assembled at Dungannon, were

The Roman Catholic clergy have also, not unfrequently, been precipitately, and indeed indiscriminately, accused of being incendiaries, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of about a dozen individuals of their order. Such a charge appears to evince a total dereliction of the principles of justice, and argues an utter want of reflection. No body of men, whether clerical or lay, so numerous as the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, was, ever yet, found free from a number of individuals whose conduct did not, in some way or other, afford ample ground for censure. The Protestant clergy can, by no means, boast of being an exception. But is it not flagrant injustice to charge the crimes of the few upon the innocent many? And may not those be led into fatal errors who admit, and act upon such unjustifiable charges? Of all description of men, in the Irish community, there is not, perhaps, one more deeply interested in the preservation of peace, and the encouragement of habits of industry, than the Roman Catholic clergy. And whatever may be the conduct of individuals, every body of men will follow that course which its interest points out.

The revenues of the Roman Catholic clergy are evidently commensurate with the number and wealth of their flocks. Peace and industry demonstrably tend to an augmentation of these: disturbances and idleness to a diminution of them. The Roman Catholic clergy, though still inadequately provided for, have five times greater revenues than their predecessors had, before the country began to thrive. They perceive that their condition is improved in exactly the same ratio as that of their country has been: And does it not betray a want of reflection to assume, that a great body of men are disposed to reject those means of thriving which they have experimentally found to be peculiarly efficacious; and to adopt those visionary ones, the efficacy whereof is at best extremely doubtful; and certainly more limited than that of those which they actually enjoyed*?

* The reader is again referred to Number XXIX in the Appendix, which contains accurate and interesting information respecting the condition of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland.

adopted;

adopted; and directions were given to the standing committee to prepare a letter to Colonel Sharman who presided in that assembly. This letter concluded with the following paragraph: "At this great crisis, when the western world, while laying the foundation of a rising empire, temptingly holds out a system of equal liberty to mankind, and waits with open arms to receive the emigrants from surrounding nations, we think it a duty we owe to our country, to promote, as far as our example can reach, an affectionate coalition of the inhabitants of Ireland." Animated by this sentiment, and convinced that national unanimity is the basis of national strength, this regiment affords a striking instance how far the divine spirit of toleration can unite men of all religious descriptions in one great object, *the support of a free constitution.*

Many other instances might be adduced to shew that the patriotic part of the Irish community was, generally speaking, at this time, more than ever impressed with the necessity of a strict union between the Protestants and Catholics. To the interest of the latter it was indispensably requisite: and the objects which the former had hitherto in view were deemed to be unattainable without it.

Within a very short period much certainly had been done in the way of improving the political condition of Ireland, and promoting concord and amity among its inhabitants. But in pursuit of these desirable objects, much, confessedly, remained to be performed: and the approaching termination of the contest with America seemed likely to shorten the season for exertions. The people of Ireland had obtained a free trade and legislative independence; but their manufacturing industry, which alone could enable them to avail themselves fully of their commercial freedom, was still repressed; and their system of civil polity was not yet reformed or purified, in such a manner, as to secure to them the enjoyment of those various advantages which the people of Britain derived from theirs, and which the people of Ireland, living under a similar form of government, were therefore unquestionably justified in seeking to obtain.

The Roman Catholics were, in a very great degree, relieved from the pressure of a tyrannical code of laws; but they were not yet incorporated with the Protestants: they did not yet belong to the body politic: they could not, as yet, exercise any civil rights; and consequently could not insure the efficacy of the constitutional demands of the Protestants by the super-

superaddition of their numeral weight. In their then condition, it even seemed not impossible to employ them in weakening the endeavours of their Protestant countrymen.

The definitive treaties of peace with America, France, and Spain, which were signed in September 1783, and which were calculated to afford the British ministry additional means of resisting, with safety, such demands on the part of the Irish people, as the former might deem it inexpedient to comply with, imposed on the latter the necessity of prosecuting the work of national elevation expeditiously, and before Britain could be recovered from the effects of her late arduous struggle; and the further necessity of augmenting the national strength of Ireland by such a union of its inhabitants as an equitable participation of civil rights could alone secure.

The conclusion of a general peace, seems, on the other hand, to have inspired the government of Ireland, still acting in subservience to the views of that of Britain, with a degree of boldness which it had not manifested since the institution of the volunteers. Six fencible regiments, paid by Great Britain, and officered chiefly by gentlemen enticed from the volunteers, were raised in Ireland, evidently with the intention of occasioning an abandonment of the volunteer cause on the part of those who were disinclined to push to extremity the contest with government;—for if Ireland could safely spare one half of her troops, during the heat of the war, she certainly stood not in need of an additional force after that war had been terminated:—and of those who were disinclined to engage in downright hostility with government, notwithstanding its lamentable lack of patriotism, the proportion was very considerable. This measure was shortly afterwards succeeded by an attempt to restrain the liberty of the press, an infringement of the trial by jury, and several other acts indicative of increased courage on the part of government. The volunteers, however, continued undismayed; and though many withdrew when the war was at an end, the national force, by the accession of Roman Catholics, was rather augmented than diminished.

Under these circumstances, government did not seem to think it prudent to rely solely on the aid of a military force: in fact, Britain was then too much debilitated, by the recent contest with her subjects in America, to admit of her engaging hastily in another with the people of Ireland. Re-
course

course was therefore had to other expedients also, for the purpose of checking the prosecution of the different measures which the patriotism of the Irish might suggest: expedients which, upon the whole, were perhaps as well suited to the end in view as an intimidating system of dragooning. Besides, the condition of the empire rendered it almost impossible to introduce an army sufficiently numerous to disarm, coerce or intimidate the volunteers.

In some instances, national pride was gratified: in a variety of others, either the pride, the ambition, or the avarice of individuals. Institutions, pregnant in several cases with much public benefit, and more or less calculated to extend the patronage of government, were successively devised or supported; and a spirit of industry and enterprise was liberally encouraged. The order of St. Patrick was instituted, in 1783, with much pomp and ceremony. The national bank of Ireland was opened, in the same year, with a capital of one million and a half *. The general post-office was established in the following year. New places were created. The pension-list was swelled. Many were gratified by titles. The Duke of Rutland's conviviality and conciliatory manners were productive of no inconsiderable effect in diverting the higher orders from political speculations. Dublin was improved and embellished: several magnificent public structures being undertaken, or carried on with increased spirit. The custom-house, the building whereof was begun in 1781, and which was opened in 1791, had cost no less than 262,381*l.* 19*s.* 7½*d.* in 13 years ended in 1794 †. The fisheries were promoted by liberal aid and bounties. The premiums on fishing buffes granted in 6 years ended in 1786, amounted to 116,289*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Inland navigation, that eminently valuable national improvement, was prosecuted with unusual ardour and skill, private interests being prudently combined much more closely with public interest than before; not, indeed, with that degree of skill, that degree of activity,

* The bank of Ireland notes in circulation, in Jan. 1804, amounted to 2,986,999*l.* 6*s.* 5½*d.*

† Expenses of building the Custom-house:

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1782—	7,707	4	5	1787—	17,866	5	10	1791—	27,433	1	4
3—	22,855	16	1½	8—	33,382	16	1½	2—	42,991	19	7
4—	21,433	5	11	9—	34,946	14	3	3—	27,973	15	9½
5—	18,613	13	5½	1790—	21,588	16	7½	4—	20,824	10	1
6—	16,760	6	6								

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and that degree of honesty which are requisite to render the expenditure of money on works of this nature productive of the utmost beneficial effects expected to result therefrom; but with so much of these requisites as afforded the Irish people a practical knowledge of the advantages of inland navigation; and as preserved, if not strengthened the disposition of government, and of wealthy individuals to persevere in this most desirable improvement. The grand canal, which opens a communication between the Irish sea, or St. George's channel, and the Atlantic ocean, and which extends near 80 miles from the port of Dublin to the river Shannon, and 123 in all directions, the tardy and jobbing mode of carrying on which had, for so many years, afforded a fit subject for deep regret and severe reprehension, was at length, owing to the stimulus then given, and the proper precautions then taken, completed. In the year 1800, it had cost, with its auxiliary branches, upwards of 1,281,191*l.*, which, by the way, was above 300,000*l.* more than the cost of the stupendous canal of Languedoc, in France, and infinitely more than it ought to have cost; much of that sum having been most injudiciously applied, and jobbingly squandered. The public benefit, however, resulting from it, has already been such as to compensate, in a great degree, and will, it is to be hoped, soon compensate fully for the extravagant expenditure of money which accompanied its progress. Its revenues have risen since that time, in the following manner: viz.

Years.	£.	Years.	£.
1787—	6,984	1796—	23,636
8—	10,560	7—	23,831 corn bounties withdrawn.
9—	11,770	8—	19,518 year of the Rebellion.
1790—	13,732	9—	29,796
1—	14,818	1800—	36,944
2—	17,635	1—	42,524
3—	18,062	2—	47,100
4—	11,725 canal repairing.	1807—	70,407 *
5—	19,566		

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* The accounts of the revenues of this Company, from the year 1787 to 1799 inclusive, are taken from the return made to parliament. From that year to 1802, inclusive, they are taken from the Statistical Survey of the county of Dublin. The account of the revenue in 1807 is taken from one of the newspapers. The writer, with sufficient encouragement, applied to the directors for information respecting the revenues of the company, in the years 1800-1-2-3-4-5-6 and 7; but was given to understand, by their secretary, Mr. Bagot,

The royal canal, intended to terminate at Tarmonbury, on the Shannon, distant from Dublin about 87 miles, and thus open a valuable communication

Bagot, that they did not think it proper to disclose them. This was the only disappointment which the writer experienced when collecting materials for this work; every individual, exercising a public function, and to whom he had occasion to address himself, having readily and cheerfully furnished him with abundant information. In the Statistical Survey just mentioned, the following quantities of coal and turf are stated to have been brought by the grand canal :

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Coal.</i> Tons.	<i>Turf.</i> Tons.
1794	3,340	20,194
5	3,070	22,195
6	2,413	17,572
7	2,032	18,000
8	1,699	11,169
9	3,027	16,205
1800	3,062	25,207
1	2,532	29,278

The company were entitled by law to require *three-pence* toll per ton per mile. But by a resolution of the House of Commons on the 13th of December, 1783, the toll was to be reduced to 1½d. per mile, as soon as the canal should be completed, and the money borrowed repaid. By 29 G. III. c. 33. the sum of 57,100 l. was granted to the company, on condition of lowering the tolls on corn, meal, malt and flour brought to Dublin, by the canal, from any place ten miles below Athy, on the river Barrow, and ten miles below Bannagher, on the Shannon: but the tolls on these and other articles, brought from other places, were suffered to remain as before. *Three-pence* consequently is still charged in many instances, two-pence in most; and, in no instance, as far as the writer's knowledge reaches, is the toll so low as 1½d. except on goods brought from the river Shannon to, or towards Dublin. Even in this case, the Directors reserve to themselves a power of raising the tolls when they may think fit. Their resolution, of the 4th of October, runs thus, "Resolved that for two years from the 10th day of October instant, and *until further order*, the toll on all goods, &c. brought from any part of the river Shannon, at or below the bridge of Portumna, on the river Shannon, to or towards Dublin, be no more than one penny half-penny per mile."

The Directors General of inland navigation offered 130,000 for a reduction of the tolls on corn, meal, malt, flour, and potatoes, to one penny; but the company refused. The company, on their part, offered to reduce the toll to 1½d. on condition of receiving 175,000; which the Directors General did not deem it expedient to grant.

The magnitude of the tolls charged by this company is manifestly disadvantageous to the public, as well as to the proprietors and tenants of the land in the neighbourhood of the canal; and it might, by means of a simple diagram, be demonstratively proved to be almost equally so to the company themselves. Whether the repugnance of the directors to lower the tolls originate in timidity, occasioned by the consideration of the actual receipts of the company being scarcely equal to their necessary expenses and just expectations, in consequence

tion between Lough Allen and the latter, a line of about 132 miles, was begun in 1789, with a subscription on the part of individuals (wealth then beginning to increase in Ireland) amounting to 134,000*l.* and a parliamentary grant of 66,000*l.* It was to be completed for a million sterling. But the expensive line taken, in subservience, as it is said, to private interests, which have always notoriously been preferred to public good, in Ireland, has rendered that impossible. It extended in the year 1800, to Newcastle; 28 miles from Dublin; and had then cost 300,000*l.* It is actually navigable to Coolnahay, 5 Irish miles beyond Mullingar; or about 58 English miles from Dublin. The trade on this canal now begins to increase rapidly. And the moderate tolls and charges for freight, which evince both wisdom and liberality on the part of the company, will, no doubt, in a few years, when the people, in the neighbourhood of the canal, become so impressed with the vast advantage it affords as to engage actively in those pursuits to which it is obviously calculated to give a tenfold advantage, have the ultimate effect of prodigiously increasing the revenues of the company, and equally enriching the proprietors of the trade boats*. The
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of extravagance, mismanagement, and negligence, the writer cannot take upon him to say. If such be the case, he has only to observe, that fear, in this instance, as in others, makes the dreaded evil greater than it really is. But be this as it may, it seems highly necessary that the legislature should interfere in behalf both of the company and the public. The grand canal is a public work of such vast importance as to be justly entitled to perpetual solicitude on the part of the legislature. The appointment of a committee of investigation, unless followed by suitable measures, is mere trifling. The tolls, freight and fare of the Paddington canal are not, upon the whole, one-half, nor indeed one-third so high as those of the grand canal; and yet the former company have thriven exceedingly, already; and will, no doubt, become as rich a company of the kind as any in Europe.

The writer must likewise take this opportunity of pressing upon the consideration of the directors, the necessity of putting a stop to the fraudulent practices of the persons employed in navigating the trade-boats. These practices, the writer has been informed, have prevented many persons, living in the neighbourhood of the canal, from receiving their goods by it from Dublin.

* The tolls of this canal, which were always more moderate, as were also the fares, than those of the grand canal, were lowered in consequence of a large sum of money, 95,866*l.*, advanced to the company by the Directors General of inland navigation, to whom the application of 500,000 was intrusted at the time of the union. These tolls are at present as follows: viz. 1*d.* per ton per mile, on corn, meal, malt, flour, iron wrought and unwrought, &c. (which, by the way, is one-half more than the toll on iron brought by the Paddington canal.)
 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* on

navigation of the river Boyne was, at public and private expense, at length completed in 1800 to Navan, 23 miles; and will probably be carried on to Trim, 12 miles further. The extensive navigation of the river Barrow was also prosecuted; and is now nearly perfect. A hundred weight of merchandize may be brought from Dublin to Clonmel, by means of that river and the Suir, for 6d. which would cost by land carriage eight shillings.

The bounties and aid to manufactures were liberal beyond precedent. In 1783, 4000 l. was granted for cotton machinery; and by 23 and 24 G. III. c. 12. the vice-treasurer was directed to issue bills to the amount of 25,000 l. to Mr. Brooke, for carrying on the cotton manufacture in the county of Kildare. The bounties on manufactures from the year 1783 to 1789 inclusive, amounted to 115,000 l. The sums granted in aid of manufactures, charities, and public works, in four years ended in 1788, amounted to 290,057 l., besides the annual grants to the trustees of the linen

½d. on potatoes, and 2d. on other goods and merchandize. The company likewise, by entering into competition with the traders, compelled them to reduce their charge for freight which now, in no case, exceeds 2d. per ton per mile. Even at this rate, if there were a brisk trade on the canal, which there is ample reason to expect soon, in consequence partly of these reductions, every boat owner, attentive to his business, might clear 500 l. a year, at least. A ton of corn, consisting of 9½ average barrels of the several sorts of grain, may now be transported, on this canal, to a distance of 50 miles, at the rate of 18. 4½d. the barrel. The effect of which in augmenting the value of land in the neighbourhood of Coolnahay, which is nearly midway between sea and sea, is sufficiently obvious; and its remote effect on home-manufactures, by increasing the rental of the country, may easily be perceived.

That much greater attention may be paid by the Imperial Legislature, to the business of internal navigation, in Ireland, than has hitherto been the case, is earnestly wished by every reflecting Irishman who has the welfare of his country, and that of the empire at heart. Whether the following extract from the 31st report of the Commissioners of account afford any proof of the necessity of this increased attention, the writer leaves to the consideration of others:

Account of the Directors General of inland navigation for one year ended 5th January 1805,

Establishment	- - - - -	£. 6,494 17 4
Dublin harbour, Newry navigation, Tyrone ditto, Maghery ditto,		
Limerick and Shannon ditto	- - - - -	14,114 8 4

“ Exclusive of the annual expenditure of the Directors, they have granted large sums of money to different canal companies out of the 500,000 l. appropriated by Parliament: of this only 42,000 l. has hitherto been accounted for before us; and this only as to the expenditure of the money, not as to the progress or propriety of the works, the Directors being the proper persons to decide on that, which they say they intend to do in due season.”

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manufacture, which were greater than before, and to the Dublin society, &c. In three years, ended in 1786, there passed 185 acts; which was 4 more than had passed in 22 years ended in 1725; and, in the former period, the proportion of those which tended to the advancement or regulation of trade, or to the general improvement of the country was, beyond all comparison, greater than in the latter. In fact, there were but very few, if any acts passed in the reigns of Queen Anne or King George the First, which were really advantageous to Ireland: nor was the number much augmented in that of King George the Second, nor any ways considerable before the legislative independence of Ireland was established.

The money profusely granted, at this period, was certainly not then misapplied and jobbed away in so scandalous a manner as was the case about 1755, when there happened to be a credit to the nation of upwards of 400,000*l*. But notwithstanding the powers with which the commissioners of imprest accounts were seasonably vested by the 23 and 24 G. III. c. 26. there was, in most instances of expenditure, a shameful want of due economy: in many, an evident want of honesty. Incapable persons appear to have been frequently employed, through the influence of those whom government felt a disposition to gratify. And the practices of defaulters and speculators seem to have been, for the most part, designedly overlooked. That the policy of government, preparatory to the union, and even subsequently to that event, has tended to the increase of individual wealth at the expense of the public; or that, to speak more freely, to the shame of government, Ireland is again suffered to be as notorious as ever for infamous and outrageous jobbing, the writer apprehends there would be found ample ground for believing, if the expenditure of public money, in every department, were narrowly investigated.

On the 28th of October 1784, Sir Henry Cavendish, who was rarely seen in opposition to government, moved the following resolution: viz. "that the condition of the country rendered it absolutely necessary that all practicable retrenchments should be made consistently with the true interest of the kingdom, and the honourable support of His Majesty's revenue." This resolution was grounded on the fact that the debt of Ireland was then little short of *two* millions; upon which also, and upon the practices of government, Mr. Flood, in moving his amendment to Sir Henry Cavendish's motion, on the third of November, bottomed his observation, "that
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the country was in imminent danger of being plunged into an abyss of poverty and wretchedness." The observation was not altogether unwarrantable when made: a similar one, with respect to the actual debt of Ireland, ought certainly to escape contradiction; that debt, annually augmented by additions far beyond the whole amount of the existing debt, in 1784, exceeding the enormous sum of 70 millions; surpassing, by several millions, the cumbersome debt of Britain, at the accession of George the Second; and falling but 2 millions short of the whole debt which she incurred during the brilliant war of 1756: a debt which several intelligent persons considered as utterly incompatible with the prosperity of the country.

The consideration of Sir Henry Cavendish's resolution being subsequently refused with the countenance of government, the resolution passed. But, as it aimed at no specific retrenchment, it was of little avail. The amendment of Mr. Flood, having for its object a reduction of the army, which the fears of the subservient government of Ireland would not admit of, but which was evidently consistent with national safety, was rejected by one of those great majorities, which, as the sense of the people could have little influence on the guardians of the public purse, returned as they were, any bungling minister could easily obtain, on any question.

But however injudicious and reprehensible the manner in which the public money, appropriated to different species of national improvement, was disposed of, the bounties on manufactures and the liberal aid granted to enterprising individuals, and likewise the bounties on the exportation of corn, of which more hereafter, seconded by the various acts for the advancement, protection and regulation of trade, which were passed during that period, and by the then habitual and prevailing consumption of the produce of Irish industry, and also by the return of peace, operated powerfully in rescuing Ireland from the state of poverty into which she had fallen. The exportation of wool and yarn declined: that of woollen manufactures increased. The exportation of raw hides also declined; and the importation of cotton wool, and yarn increased most rapidly, and has continued to increase; so that from 822,788lbs. which was the annual average importation of three years ended in 1787, it has risen to 4,249,668lbs. in the year ended 5th January 1808*, increasing the wealth

* See Table marked IX. in the Appendix.

of the country by upwards of 1,000,000l. a year, and giving employment to near 100,000 persons: an employment which, it is hoped, may not be narrowed by that diminution of protection, which, conformable to the act of union, must take place in this year, 1808. The general commercial dealings of Ireland were soon greatly extended; and the annual balance of trade in her favour soon greatly augmented*. The hat manufactures began to flourish, according to the evidence of Mr. Batty, given before the committee on Irish manufactures in 1784. The blanket and carpet manufactures were likely to thrive exceedingly in the event of their being fairly protected, according to the evidence of Messrs. Norton and Wilson, the latter of whom stated that the species of carpet, next to Wilton, was better made in Ireland than in England. Cotton printing was said, by Mr. Harper, to be as good, if not better, than in England. He also informed the committee that Irish printed cottons had been smuggled into that country†. That beautiful and unrivalled manufacture, the tabbnet, was greatly extended, so long as a patriotic predilection for Irish fabrics continued. And the Irish glass, in several of its branches, vied with, and was even thought to excel the British. The linen manufacture, which affords employment to so many thousands of the bold and intelligent inhabitants of the north, and which, for the first time since the commencement of the century, had experienced a depression towards the close of the American war, quickly recovered; and soon flourished infinitely more than ever, or perhaps than any other extensive manufacture in Europe: so much so that the exportation thereof was nearly doubled in about ten years‡. And with the rise of these manufactures, but particularly with the increase of tillage, at length effectually encouraged, the augmentation of the rent of land kept pace, allaying, by its increase, that dissatisfaction which the landed interest had begun to experience.

* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

† Com. Journals.

‡ See Table marked VII. in the Appendix.

SECTION III.

Degression concerning the Bounties on the Exportation of Corn, granted in the Session 1783-4, and their Effects.

BUT there was no species of encouragement, held forth to Irish industry, which produced, is actually producing, and is likely to produce such beneficial, extensive, and important effects, as the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn, and the wise regulations, with respect to that trade, which distinguished the year 1784: effects which, in a peculiar manner, demand the attention of the statesman, the landed proprietor, and indeed of every reflecting individual of the Irish and British nations. On these bounties, and their effects, it will therefore be requisite to dwell for a considerable time; and thus to interrupt the narrative of the political affairs of Ireland.

The celebrated Adam Smith, who deservedly holds a pre-eminent place among the more distinguished political economists of Europe, appears to entertain a very unfavourable opinion of bounties on the exportation of corn; and, as usual, fortifies his opinion with much ingenious reasoning. His reasoning is, however, in part, utterly inapplicable to the peculiar case of Ireland; in part, inconsistent with his occasional observations on the subject of agriculture; and, in the case of Ireland, seems to be completely refuted by facts.

He sets out with admitting, that bounties ought to be given to those branches of trade which cannot be carried on without them*. It is not insisted on, that tillage could not have been extended in Ireland without the aid of bounties, though reasons are not wanting to give, perhaps, sufficient strength to the assertion; but it is insisted on as fact, that the tillage of Ireland was not uniformly adequate to supply the demands of the Irish people, until after the bounties on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin were granted; and that it was insufficient to preclude the necessity of introducing foreign corn into the Irish market, until after the efficacious

* Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 2.

export bounties of the year 1784: and moreover that these bounties had the effect of occasioning an unprecedented foreign sale of the surplus produce of Irish tillage, to the annual amount of near half a million of money*, while the people of Ireland were eating bread at as cheap, or indeed at a cheaper rate than before †.

But a cursory view of the tables in the Appendix, marked I. II. III. IV. will be sufficient to put the extremely beneficial tendency of corn bounties, nay their urgent necessity, in Ireland, wholly out of dispute.

It is further to be observed, with regard to Ireland, that potatoes are the prevailing food of the inferior orders; and consequently that such part of Adam Smith's reasoning as is directed to evince the expediency of avoiding such measures as seem calculated to raise the price of the necessaries of life, does not militate, in the least degree, against encouraging the exportation of corn from Ireland. In truth, it might, without sophistry, be employed in behalf of the measure.

The corn bounties have certainly extended the tillage of Ireland. The extension of its tillage has necessarily been accompanied by an increased demand for labour. This increased demand has occasioned an enhancement of the wages thereof. And this enhancement has enabled the peasant to pay more for the land he employs in supplying his family with potatoes; and to pay that augmented sum with much greater ease than he could pay the smaller sum demanded before the rise of his wages originating in the extension of tillage. In some parts of Ireland, where, thirty years ago, the daily hire of a common labourer was sixpence, the rent charged for an acre of land, to plant potatoes in, was about four guineas. In the same parts the hire is now eleven pence † at least, or one shilling; and consequently,

* The annual average value of the corn exported, during five years ended in 1790, was 440,832l. 13s. 2d. That of the corn imported, only 7445l. 1s. 5d.: a sum which seems little more than sufficient to purchase seed of superior quality.

† It appeared before, by the evidence of Messrs. Strettle and Colville, that the average price of wheat was 50 shillings per quarter for 15 years ended in 1773. In the month of July in the year 1785, after the export bounties were granted, the middle price, in the Dublin market, was 49 shillings, in other parts of Ireland it was lower; and in the year 1793, which immediately succeeded two years of the greatest exportation, before the year just concluded, the average price was as low as it had been twenty years before.

‡ See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

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though the rent of the potatoe land were doubled, the labourer is in a better condition. In the former case, he earned (deducting fundays and holidays) 7l. 10s. a year; and had consequently but 2l. 19s. over the rent of his potatoe garden: but in the latter, he earns 13l. 15s. a year; and consequently has 4l. 13s. over the rent, even supposing it to be now 9l. 2s.* Besides, in the former period he was not always employed, in the latter he is.

In consequence of the inferiour orders of the Irish people subsisting chiefly on potatoes, the corn of Ireland cannot with propriety be viewed in the same light with that of other countries. There, it is a mere necessary of life: here, it is rather an exportable manufacture, by the foreign vent whereof, those who labour in preparing it for market are enabled to purchase that article of food which they have been in the habit of using. Some part of the Irish community may, no doubt, experience distress in the event of any great rise in the price of bread-corn; but by far the greater part would be nowise affected thereby, and many might be thereby benefited. The increased demands of the distillers, the brewers, the augmented army, and the merchants who export corn to Britain have, of late years, raised its price enormously high; but the dearness of that article is scarcely, if at all, felt by the labouring poor of Ireland; and the little farmers, who are becoming every day more numerous, have derived the greatest advantage from it.

The same admirable author, whose reasonings have unavoidably been brought under consideration, says, in some other part of his valuable work, that capital should be allowed to take its own course, and not forced nor allured into any particular branch of trade. In several other parts of his work, already cited, he dwells upon agriculture as the greatest and most permanent source of national wealth, and as the natural foundation for manufactures, and ultimately for foreign trade. And, on one occasion, he says, that "when the capital of any country is not sufficient for all those three purposes (viz. agriculture, manufactures, and foreign trade,) in proportion as a greater share of it is employed in agriculture the greater will be the quantity of productive labour which it puts in motion within the country; as will likewise be the value which its employment adds to the annual produce of the land and labour of the society †." If his encomiums on agriculture be well founded,

* Eight guineas, 9l. 2s. Irish.

† Vol. i. p. 364.

and unquestionably they are, they seem to justify the practice which he condemns, that of forcing or alluring capital to those branches of business to which it would not have gone, or, which is almost the same thing, to which it did not go of its own accord. It is true he looks upon agriculture as the first way in which the capital of a country will be naturally employed; and may therefore be said to have put that out of the question. But it is equally true, in point of fact, that the capital of a country is not uniformly first employed in agriculture; and indeed he incidentally adduces several instances in proof of the fact.

About the time when it was resolved on to encourage tillage in Ireland, by means of liberal bounties on the exportation of its products, there was but very little capital in the country; and the depressed condition of all its manufactures, except the linen, together with the restricted state of its commerce, rendered the accumulation of capital almost impossible by any other means than pasturage and the linen manufacture. But three-fourths of the linen were, and are at this day, exported on English account; and the little capitals, acquired by the pursuit of pasturage, were either expended in acts of hospitality, or employed in the purchase of land. Under these circumstances, the bounties on the exportation of grain had the effect of inducing the occupiers of land to embark their pecuniary acquisitions in tillage: or in other words, that of turning the capital of the country into its first, natural and most productive course; into which it would not otherwise have gone; or at least into which it had not gone before: and this effect soon became productive of other beneficial ones, those of increasing the number and wealth of the consumers, and enabling individuals, in different branches of trade, to accumulate capital by supplying them with several of those articles which had before been imported; and of these individuals some, the distillers and brewers for instance, gave, in their turns, that effective encouragement to agriculturists which the increased number and wealth of these had given to them. But of this more hereafter. The single circumstance of throwing about 60 or 70,000*l.* a year into the hands of enterprising corn-merchants, whose interest seems to prompt them to protect, encourage and improve the agriculture of the country, and whose increasing capitals are, for the most part, destined to advance its trade in some line or other, was a circumstance of by no means secondary importance. The bounty granted in the year ended in March 1786, was
57,142*l.*

57,142l. 1s. 0½d. and the value of the corn exported was 406,893l. 10s. 8¼d. which was about 14 per cent. to the merchants, besides their other profits on the sale. In other words, Ireland gained in that year, which was only the second after the bounty was granted, 406,893l. by paying 57,142l. to her own corn merchants; in whose hands there was every reason to expect that that sum would be turned to the best national account. From the 25th of March 1785 to the same day in 1795, the value of the corn exported from Ireland was 4,256,360l. 12s. 7¼d., that of the corn imported, 213,546l. 4s. 8½d., leaving a balance in favour of the country amounting to 4,042,811l. 7s. 9¼d., or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. per annum.

The act which held forth the efficacious bounties on the exportation of corn from Ireland, passed in the session of 1783-4, and stands as the 19th among the acts of that session. It granted 3s. 4d. for every barrel of wheat exported, 1s. 4d. for every hundred weight of wheatmeal, or malt of wheat, and 1s. 11d. for every hundred weight of flour or wheaten bread or biscuit, when the price of wheat was not above 27s. the barrel; 1s. 7d. for every barrel of barley, bere or big; 2s. for every barrel of malt; and 1s. for every hundred weight of flour or meal made of barley, bere, or big, when the price of barley did not exceed 13s. 6d. the barrel; 2s. 2d. for every barrel of rye and for every hundred weight of ryemeal or flour when the price of rye did not exceed 23s. the barrel; 1s. 5d. for every barrel of oats or hundred weight of oatmeal when the price of oats did not exceed 10s. the barrel; 3s. 4d. for every barrel of white pease, when the price did not exceed 27s.; and 2s. for every barrel of grey pease when the price did not exceed 16s. 3d. This act moreover prohibited the exportation of wheat when its price was at 30s., rye when at 25s., barley when at 14s. 6d., oats and oatmeal when at 11s., white pease when at 30s., and grey pease when at 18s. 3d. the barrel. Besides this prudent prohibition, it imposed a duty of 10s. on every barrel of wheat imported, when the price at the place of importation was under 30s.; a similar duty on rye when under 26s.; a similar one on barley, and 1s. on every stone of malt when barley was under 14s. 6d.; 5s. on oats when under 11s.; 10s. on white pease when under 30s.; and the same on grey pease, when under 18s. 3d; and when the prices were above the aforefaid, a duty of 2d. for every barrel of grain, and 2d. for every hundred weight of malt imported in lieu of all former duties. But when the price of wheat, in Dublin, was under 30s. and not less

less than 27s., that of rye under 26s. and not less than 23s., that of barley under 14s. 6d., and not less than 13s. 6d., that of oats under 11s. and not less than 10s., white pease under 30s., and not less than 27s., grey pease and beans under 18s. 6d., and not less than 16s. 3d. the barrel, the duty on importation from Great Britain was only 2d. the barrel of grain, and 2d. the hundred weight of meal. This act likewise granted bounties on the importation of Irish oats and oatmeal into the province of Ulster, whenever the exportation of these from that province should be prohibited. The 25 G. III. c. 10, was merely supplementary to this act, and was rendered necessary by an omission in the latter. It provided that when rye or meslin should be subject to a duty of 10s. on importation, there should be paid, for every stone of rye or meslin meal 6d.; that when barley, bere, or big should be subject to the same duty there should be paid 7½d. for every stone of meal thereof imported; that when wheat should be subject to a duty of 10s. there should be paid 6d. for every stone of wheatmeal, and 9d. for every stone of flour or biscuit imported; that when oats should be subject to a duty of 5s. there should be paid 5s. for every hundred weight of oatmeal imported; and that when pease or beans should be subject to a duty of 10s., there should be paid 6d. for every stone of the meal thereof imported. The effects of the act 23 & 24 G. III. c. 19. with reference to the corn export trade of Ireland, are visible in the tables in the Appendix. The first of these tables shews the quantity of corn exported from Ireland, in successive periods of four years since the commencement of the last century, as entered in the custom-house books. The second shews the import. The third the average annual excess of export and import. And the fourth, grounded on the former ones, will serve to keep the reader clear of those errors which, in consequence of frequent variations in the weights of corn during the last century, he would, without the aid thereof, inevitably fall into.

Before the year 1733, the corn exported and imported was computed by the bushel, or by the quarter containing eight bushels, without noticing the weight of either. By the 7 G. II. c. 15. it was enacted that from September 1734, every quarter of wheat, barley, bere, oats, &c. should weigh 40 stons. By the 25 G. II. c. 15. it was enacted that from the 1st day of August 1752, 40 stons of wheat, rye, meslin, pease and beans should be deemed equal to one quarter, 24 stons of barley or bere, 22 stons of oats, and 21 stons of malt, to one quarter also. By the 13 & 14 G. III. c. 11. the
half

half quarter, or 4 bushels of wheat, ryé, pease, beans, meal and flour made of wheat, was made equivalent to 224lbs. from the 24th of June 1774. This brought the quarter of wheat to within half a stone of the medium weight. By the 19 & 20 G. III. c. 17. the English exportation measures of all sorts of grain and meal, except oatmeal, were adopted. And by the act under consideration, it was ordered that all sorts of grain should be computed, on exportation and importation, by the barrel, and meal and flour by the hundred weight; and that the barrel of wheat should weigh 20 stones, those of barley and bere 16, that of oats 14, that of malt 12, &c. and so it has continued. These variations have an evident tendency to mislead the inquirer. Thus in the 4th period of the first table, which contained the greatest exportation that took place near the commencement of the last century, the quantity of oats, wheat, and barley exported was 334,324 quarters, which, according to the average weights of the several sorts of grain was equal to 563,144 barrels, each respectively weighing the number of stones prescribed by the existing law: in which state alone it can be fairly compared with the quantity exported in the period ended in 1792, which was 2,953,859 barrels of unground corn. Again, the importation of the period ended in the year 1748, was 453,270 quarters of 40 stones each, making 1,059,221 barrels. This was the greatest importation during the century; but it would appear considerably less than the importation of the period ended in 1756, unless both were reduced to a uniform standard. Nor would it exhibit so great a contrast as it really does with the exportation of the period ended in 1792. In order then to preclude erroneous conclusions, it became necessary to superadd the last of these tables, in which the annual average quantity of all the corn exported and imported is reduced to the different barrels appointed by the act under consideration*.

It will be seen by these tables, that the quantity of corn, meal and flour exported in twelve years after the passing of the act, exceeded that which was exported in the *eighty-four* years which preceded it: but that the quantity imported, during the eight years which immediately preceded the act,

* The quantity of malt exported or imported was so trifling compared with barley, that the barrel of the latter only has been employed. Besides with reference to produce they are equivalent to each other.

was nearly equal to that which was imported in the twenty years which followed it; although there occurred two years of uncommon scarcity during the latter period. It will also be seen that the annual average excess of the corn ground and unground exported, beyond that which was imported, in the period which succeeded the act, was, to a similar average excess in the period which preceded it, as nearly nine to one.

By the returns which were presented to parliament, on different occasions, it appears that the value of the corn exported from, and imported into Ireland, during ten years subsequent to 1785, was as follows: viz.

Year ended 25th March.	Corn, &c. exported.			Corn, &c. imported.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1786	406,893	10	8½	- -	24,610	8 0
1787	377,743	5	4	- -	4,410	17 3
1788	256,492	17	4	- -	4,467	19 0
1789	548,147	19	0½	- -	1,394	7 3
1790	614,885	14	6½	- -	2,341	15 9
1791	549,652	7	6½	- -	1,719	7 1½
1792	494,295	16	2	- -	4,099	19 6
1793	423,386	17	2	- -	23,581	14 7
1794	280,181	13	1½	- -	3,602	2 0
1795	304,680	11	8	- -	143,317	14 3
	<u>4,256,360</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7½</u>		<u>213,546</u>	<u>4 8½</u>

So that, contrary to what had ever before been the case, Ireland gained by her corn trade, in ten years, a balance of 4,042,811l. 7s. 9½d., or about 404,281l. 2s. 9d. a year, and, contrary also to what had been the case before, plenty uniformly prevailed in the country.

The value of the corn and meal exported, in the year ended 5th January 1804, was 546,495l. 19s.; that of the corn and meal exported in the year ended in 1807, though valued below the medium prices current in Dublin in the beginning of that year, appears to have been 787,274l.; that of the corn and meal exported last year, will be found to amount to a million sterling; which is equal to the value of the corn exported from England, during the most prosperous period of her corn-trade: and this great export, though not directly occasioned by the bounties, was evidently the effect thereof*. To this gain should be added the increased gain arising from

* There were exported from Ireland to Britain, last year, 837,122 barrels of wheat, barley, and oats. Thus, with a greatly increased population, has Ireland been rendered competent to contribute largely to the support of the inhabitants of a country, on which she formerly depended, in a very considerable degree, for her requisite supply of corn.

the exportation of pork; the pigs being reared chiefly by the lower classes of people, engaged in agriculture, whose number must necessarily have been increased with the increase thereof: and accordingly it will be found by the Table marked V. in the Appendix, that the exportation of pork has, for the most part, been commensurate with the increase of tillage. The difference between the quantity exported in four years ended in March 1788, and in four years ended in March 1796, was 200,231 barrels; the value of which, at the then price current, viz. 3l. 4s. 7½d. per barrel, was 646,992l. 5s. 0½d., or 161,748l. 1s. 3d. on an average yearly. And the difference between the number of fitches of bacon exported in three years ended in 1785, and three years ended 1795, was 109,809, worth 131,769l., or 43,923l. on an average each year; which, with the pork and corn, making together 609,952l., may be considered as the annual national gain accruing from the corn act in about ten years after the commencement of its operation. The value of the produce of the pig-sty alone, exported last year, amounted to nearly twice this sum*; which, yielding annually to the exporting merchants a profit of 10 per cent. at the lowest, may be said to have furnished 60,000l. a year for the encouragement of the trade of Ireland; and that sum, so furnished and so distributed, must have had much greater and more varied efficacy than twice its amount annually applied to the same purpose, and with the utmost scrupulousness, under the directions of the legislature.

It is to be observed also, that the increase of tillage, consequent on the bounties of this act, prevented an immense efflux of money during the late years of scarcity: an efflux which might not have been compensated by a favourable balance of trade for two or three years. The barley, malt, wheat and oats imported in three years, ended in January 1802, amounted to no more than 126,414 barrels; the flour and meal to no more than 121,148½ cwts; the value of both of which did not much exceed 300,000l.; whereas in the period of four years ended in March 1748, the average excess of corn, meal and flour imported, over that which was exported, amounted to 255,567l. *annually*. What the excess of the quantity of corn imported, would have been beyond that of the corn exported, in

* Exported from Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1808, hogs 17,345, barrels of pork 283,665, fitches 291,019, hams 5,834 cwts., lard 19,885 cwts.

the three years ended in 1802, had the tillage of Ireland remained in the state in which it was in the year 1748, it is hard to conjecture: it probably, however, would have exceeded one million of barrels; allowance being made for an increase of people much more tardy than that which marked any considerable period of the century: and this million of barrels would probably have cost the country one million of money more than it paid for the corn which it was under the necessity of purchasing for the supply of a population which has increased more rapidly than that of any other country in Europe. The wheat and flour imported into England, in a single year, from September 1799 to September 1800, is stated to have been to the amount of 6,500,000*l.* The value of corn of all sorts imported in the year 1806, was stated to be 1,937,608*l.* *

But though the tillage of Ireland appears to have been wonderfully extended by the operation of this act; its pasture land has not experienced the least diminution. On the contrary, its quantity has been evidently augmented. Had the effects of the act been limited merely to transmuting the pasturage into tillage, it would demonstrably have been a signal national benefit. But while it secured the vast and various advantages arising from the extension of the latter, it does not appear to have trenchd in the least on the former. The average annual quantity of beef exported during the period which immediately preceded that in which the act passed, was 171,486 barrels, the average annual quantity exported in the period which immediately followed that which is distinguished by the act, was 144,886 barrels, or 26,600 less than in the former period †. These 26,600 would require 13,300 beasts; and the fattening of these would require about 39,900 English acres of middling land ‡. Thus far there seems to have been a diminution of pasturage. But, in the former period, the average annual quantity of butter exported was 248,586 cwts., and in the latter 299,569 cwts., which exceeded that of the former by 50,983 cwts., for

* Oats, 510,242 qrs. 3 lbs. at 25*s.* 8*d.* 654,811*l.*; wheat 318,917 qrs. at 79*s.* 1,259,722*l.*; all grain together, 840,295 qrs. 4 lbs.

† See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

‡ Some of the rich land in the counties of Limerick, Clare, &c. will, as Mr. Young was informed, fatten a bullock per Irish acre (1*a.* 2*r.* 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*) besides affording pasture for sheep in the same year. The produce of butter from each cow on an average in many parts of the South is 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

the

the production of which 40,782 cows were requisite, each yielding on an average $1\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. of butter; and their maintenance required 122,346 acres of middling land; from which the number of acres saved by the diminished export of beef (39,900) being deducted, there will be found to be 83,446 acres more in pasture, during the period subsequent, than during the period antecedent to that in which the corn bounties were held forth; without taking to account the vast increase of the home demand; or the land employed in rearing the cattle. Again, during the period in which the act passed, viz. that ended in March 1784, the average annual quantity of beef exported was 171,158 barrels, and the average quantity of the last period of the century, sixteen years from the former, was 130,480 barrels, or 40,678 less, requiring 61,017 acres less; but the average quantity of butter exported in the former period being only 251,542 cwts. and that exported in the latter being 291,041, the dairy land in this case contained 94,797 acres more than in that; from which if the defalcation from the land employed in fattening, viz. 61,017 acres, be deducted, the land appropriated to cattle will be found to contain 33,780 acres, more in the latter period than in the former. But in truth it must have contained a vast deal more. For first, the trade of Ireland, and consequently the ships employed therein, had greatly increased in these sixteen years, (indeed it was the period of its greatest increase) and the quantity of fresh provisions taken on board these ships, and of which no return is made at the Custom-house, must have increased in an equal ratio*. Secondly, the quantity of beef shipped by the navy agents, for the use of His Majesty's fleets, and the fresh beef taken by the men of war when in Irish ports, of neither of which any return is made, must have been infinitely greater during the latter than during the former period; the latter being a period of war, the former a period of peace. Thirdly, the quantity of beef consumed by the army in Ireland was beyond all comparison greater in the latter than in the former period. In the year 1785, there were only 638 horse, 1,318 dragoons, 8,185 foot, 520 invalids, 333 artillery, and 53 invalid artillerymen: in all 11,047. But in the year ended in March 1800, there

* The Inspector General of exports and imports, Mr. Marshall, stated before the Exchange committee in 1804, that the ships employed then in the trade of Ireland performed upwards of 7,000 voyages, annually, from it.

were 10,364 cavalry, 72,667 infantry, including invalids, and 1,500 artillery; besides the men belonging to the commissariat department, light artillery, &c. making altogether upwards of 84,531, which was, by the way, within 29 of the whole number of effectives, in the British army, on an average of the years 1779, 1780, during the height of the American war: a number which, with 37,539 yeomen, augmented afterwards to 84,941, was deemed necessary to keep down 279,896 armed rebels; such being the number discovered by the papers found on Lord Edward Fitzgerald: or it might have been for some other purpose. The difference in point of number between this army, exclusive of the yeomen, and the army of Ireland in 1785, was 73,484, at least, who probably consumed half a pound of beef per day per man, together with other provisions, making the annual consumption equivalent to 55,405 barrels; which alone was 14,727 barrels more than the deficiency in the export before alluded to; and required 90,106 acres; which being added to the increased quantity of land devoted to the dairy, viz. 33,780 acres, make 123,886 acres, under cattle, more in the latter period, when tillage had become unprecedentedly extensive, than in the former, when its extension was meditated. There are other considerations also, which might be brought to prove that the pasturage of Ireland was greatly increased, during the last sixteen years of the past century, notwithstanding the immensely augmented and increasing state of its tillage; it seems, however, unnecessary to introduce them. The additional number of live cattle annually exported in the last period, viz. 17,285*, may be adduced as an evidence of the amelioration of mountain land, and the increase of pasturage.

But the greatly increased quantity of corn exported, and the greatly diminished quantity imported, under the operation of this act, as seen in the tables, will give no other than a very faint and imperfect idea of the great extension of tillage in Ireland. To discover this, recourse must be had to other considerations and other documents. If the population of Ireland amounted, in 1787, according to Mr. Bushe, to about 4 millions, and there seems no reason to suspect it did not, for it amounted to 4,206,612 in 1791, it either must actually amount to upwards of 5 millions, (it will probably be found to be 5½ millions,) or it must have increased much slower

* See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

than

than at any former period of the last century; which seems utterly incredible, as the circumstances of the country were, upon the whole, infinitely more favourable to an increase of people, during the last twenty years, than during any former period, of equal extent. And if the population of Ireland has experienced an accession of one million, then there must be, at least, one million and a half more of acres in a state of cultivation than there were in the year 1787; for if so small a quantity of land as one acre and a half sufficed for the maintenance of each individual, on an average, then the cultivated land alone of Ireland, amounting to 13,454,375 acres *, would support 8,969,583 people; or nearly as many as England actually contains. It would be going too far out of the way to enter into an examination of the facts which conduce to prove that the population of Ireland has experienced an accession of the magnitude before mentioned †. Any person who will reflect on the increase of the linen and cotton manufactures, the increased consumption of spirits, malt-liquor, &c. the increased quantity of corn exported, keeping in mind this obvious truth, that no portion of the people of Ireland has been drawn from one occupation to another, will find himself sufficiently aided in believing the fact. The number of yards of plain linen exported, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1807, was 41,162,046, the number exported, on an average of three years, ended 25th March 1782, was only 19,619,168. The average quantity of cotton-wool and yarn imported in three years ended in 1786, was 476,112lbs. the quantity imported in three years ended in 1808, was 4,249,668lbs. To support the increasing number of people employed in these manufactures alone since 1784, without taking to account the other additional consumers, whose increase kept pace with theirs, must have required the appropriation of a very considerable additional number of acres to tillage.

The increased consumption of certain articles has been objected to as an evidence of the increase of people, and considered merely as a proof of increased wealth. But if it be so of the latter, it must, at least to a considerable degree, be so likewise of the former: for the people of a country have seldom been found to increase in wealth without at the same time increasing in number; especially where there is but one or two valuable

* See Part I. sect. 4.

† See an Inquiry into the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland.

manufactures, as is the case with Ireland; and the increase of wealth arises from an augmented sale partly of these and partly of the produce of the land. But the increased consumption of certain articles proves, beyond dispute, a proportionate increase of people. Thus, for instance, in a period of four years, ended 25th March 1780, the average quantity of spirits which paid duty annually, when the duty thereon was 1s. 2d. the gallon, and no duty on malt existed, was 1,768,042 gallons; but the quantity returned last year, under a duty of 10s. 10d. the barrel on malt, and 4s. 5d. the gallon on spirits, and when consequently the temptation to smuggling was greatly increased, was 5,704,158 gallons. Now after deducting from this number 648,706 gallons, being the quantity exported, there will remain, without taking to account the vast number of gallons which escape the payment of duty, 5,055,452 gallons, which after making a deduction from the inhabitants amounting to 1,800,000, for children under the age of 12 years, and such deduction from 5,500,000 people is well warranted by facts, there will remain, for each consuming individual of a population of 5,500,000, upwards of $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallon, or about 11 pints each, which may fairly be considered as nearly equal to their actual consumption, if there be added to it the quantity of foreign wine and spirits annually consumed, and also the quantity of porter, the use of which, in preference to spirits, is known to prevail more and more every year in every county in Ireland, except four or five.

The quantity of tobacco retained for home consumption in England, on an average of six years ended 5th January 1806, was 11,988,871 lbs. the quantity imported into Ireland, from whence the export was too trivial to be noticed, during the same period, and on the same average, was 6,390,085 lbs. This, if the use of tobacco be equally prevalent in both countries, but it seems to be more so in England than in Ireland, would imply the existence of upwards of 4,982,272 people in the latter.

The increased consumption of sugar may be considered, perhaps, with better reason, as an evidence of increased wealth than either of the foregoing articles. Yet a comparison between England and Ireland at different periods seems to authorize the employing the increased consumption of this article also as a proof of a proportionate increase of people. The quantity retained for home consumption in England, in the year 1700, was

306,092

306,092 cwts. The quantity imported into Ireland *, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 324,477 cwts. The population of the former amounted, according to Gregory King in 1696, to 5,500,000; but was generally considered by the best informed persons to amount to 7 millions. From whence it may reasonably be inferred, that the existing population of Ireland amounts to 5,500,000, unless it can be satisfactorily shewn that the more numerous classes of the Irish community are actually a vast deal more wealthy than those of the English community were in 1700, which I apprehend is not the case.

— But the documents which furnish evidence of an increased internal consumption of grain will sufficiently demonstrate the great extension of tillage since 1784. The average annual quantity of spirits made in the period ended in that year, was 1,768,042 gallons; the quantity made in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 5,704,158; being an increase of 3,936,116 gallons; which, if extracted wholly from barley, would require the produce of 75,694 additional acres †, according to the average produce in Ireland, as stated by Mr. Young. To this should be added the increased quantity of spirits, made in the latter period, which evaded the payment of duty. Respecting this quantity, a conjecture may be made which will approximate the truth sufficiently for the present purpose. The duty on spirits in 1785, was 1s. 2d. per gallon; the duty on malt in the year ended in 1786 (being the first of the malt duty) was 2s. 6d.; but in the year ended in 1808, the former was 4s. 5d., and the latter 10s. 10d., so that the temptation to smuggling was nearly quadrupled. It appeared by the evidences of Messrs. Edwards and Forbes, before the committee appointed to inquire into the late scarcity of provisions, that whiskey illegally made could be sold for half the price of legal whiskey; “ that not half the spirit or malt

* The quantity of all colonial or American produce exported from Ireland is very trifling. The total quantity of sugar exported during three years, ended 25th March 1799, was only 29,434 cwts. The total quantity exported during three years ended 5th January 1806 was but 1,388.

† The average produce per acre is 6½ barrels, 16 stones each. The barrel of barley is considered as equivalent to 12 stones of malt, which will make 6 gallons of whiskey. From 11 stones of oats 5 gallons are extracted.

duties were collected; and that *public stills did more illicit work than private clandestine stills.*"

That the number of gallons of spirits made does greatly exceed the number returned, although, in the last year, this was unprecedentedly great, the writer does not entertain a doubt.

In several of the statistical surveys, it is stated, that the use of malt liquor increases greatly. In the province of Munster, to which these surveys have not as yet extended, there is an almost universal and decided preference given to it.

By the 5th report of the Commissioners, appointed to inquire into the fees, gratuities, &c. of public offices in Ireland, it appears that 4,131 private stills, 3,190 heads, and 2,809 worms were seized in the year 1802*. These commissioners grounded an opinion, on the detection of illicit distilleries, that one-third of the spirits annually consumed paid no duty. And this opinion, concurrent with an opinion held by the writer, on a former occasion †, has since been fully confirmed by the activity of the Commissioner of the Revenue ‡. If the illicit work done by public stills, according to the evidence of Mr. Edwards, be taken to account, it may safely be computed, that, notwithstanding the laudable and effectual exertions of the Commissioners of the Revenue, one-fifth, at least, of the spirits made does still evade the payment of duty; as that duty is at present 4s. 5d. per gallon,

* The number of legal stills in Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1803, as returned to parliament, was 117; and their contents 88,960 gallons. The number of illegal stills seized, as above, in 1802, was 4,131. If these contained only 22 gallons, on an average, each, their contents would amount to 90,882 gallons; or 1,922 gallons more than the contents of all the legal stills in Ireland in the year 1802, when 4,805,196 gallons paid duty. The number of licences granted to retailers of spirits in the year ended 29th September 1803, was 10,180. The quantity of spirits that paid duty in the year ended 5th January 1803, was 4,805,196 gallons. Each retailer, therefore, one with another, appears to have sold 472 gallons, besides a large proportion of illegal spirits, and also foreign spirits. But to those who are acquainted with the circumstances of the country publicans, in Ireland, this is not credible. That a vast number retailed spirits without licences is the fact. An advertisement from the Mayor of Cork in 1805, announces his having received information that 200 persons, in that city, did so.

† Inquiry into the population of Ireland printed in 1804. The Report of the Commissioners was ordered to be printed in 1806.

‡ See Table in the Appendix, marked XIII.

instead

instead of 2s. 6d. as in the year 1800, when he gave his evidence, and the excise duty on malt 10s. 10d., instead of 6s., as then; and consequently the temptation to illicit practices almost doubled.

If it be assumed then, that 750,000 gallons escape the payment of duty more than did in 1785, the number of acres added to the tillage land, by the increased consumption of spirits, will appear to be 90,109.

The average quantity of home-made ale which annually paid duty in the period ended in 1784, before the malt tax was imposed, was 459,860 barrels. The quantity computed to be annually made, on an average of the years 1807, 1808, is 750,726 barrels*, being 290,866 more than in the former period. But that the difference was infinitely greater, the writer has abundant reason for believing.

The result of several incidental inquiries which he made, in different places in the province of Munster, remote from each other, is, that 20 gallons of porter, at least, are consumed for one gallon of whiskey. By a return, made to the writer, of the quantity of spirits and porter consumed in the town of Cove, it appears that there were 10,000 gallons of the former, in 1806, and 6,000 tierces, or 252,000 gallons of the latter; which is upwards of 25 to 1. According to the information of the writer's much esteemed and truly amiable friend, the intelligent and scrupulously accurate Lord Carberry, the quantity of malt-liquor actually consumed in the district of Rosscarberry, upwards of 40 miles distant from Cove, is about 200 tierces, or 8,400 gallons, per month; and the quantity of spirits less than 5 puncheons, or 420 gallons. So that the consumption of porter there is as 20 gallons for 1 of spirits. In all the public houses in the parish of Carrigoline, and the neighbouring ones, the consumption of porter is, to that of spirits, as 40 to 1. Now if we suppose that the consumption, through Ireland, is as only 8 to 1, then there are made 1,422,914 barrels of strong beer, or porter; or near twice the quantity computed.

And if such be the case, as no doubt it is, either the porter brewers must use an infinitely smaller proportion of malt than the public are in the habit of giving them credit for using; or, which is by far the more likely of the two, the inferior officers of the revenue are guilty of criminal connivance

* See Table, in the Appendix, marked XIII.

and a flagrant departure from their duty. In truth, the domestic establishments of several of these officers, and the various other evidences of wealth which they exhibit, together with a knowledge of the inveterate and complicated system of fraud, collusion, jobbing, and speculation which has always distinguished Ireland, and pervaded every department in it, afford ample ground for a suspicion of this nature.

The number of barrels of malt annually made, on an average, during a period of 4 years ended in March 1792, was 1,078,727. The quantity of spirits annually made, during the same period, was 3,189,133 gallons: the quantity of strong-beer 455,699 barrels: and the quantity of small-beer 215,902 barrels. But the number of barrels of malt made, on an average of the two years ended 5th January 1808, was only 660,896 barrels; although the quantity of spirits annually made, during the same time, was 4,817,993 gallons: the quantity of strong-beer 750,726 barrels: and the quantity of small-beer, 283,201 barrels. So that with 417,831 barrels of malt *less* than in the former period, there have been made 1,628,860 more gallons of spirits, 295,027 more barrels of strong, and 67,299 of small beer. The use of oats instead of barley-malt, in the distilleries, has no doubt become greatly more prevalent than formerly, on account of the increased duty on the latter: but still there will be left sufficient reason for suspecting, that, as Mr. Edwards affirmed, not more than one half the duty on malt is collected; and that there is actually about twice as much strong beer made as computed.

Prefuming then, upon fair grounds, that there are annually made, at least, 800,000 barrels of strong beer, more than in the period ended in 1784, there must now be employed in the culture of barley, for the breweries, near 50,000 acres more than then; including the additional number necessary for the produce of the malt used in making small beer.

The quantity of beer and ale imported, since the year 1748, was as follows: viz.

In four years ended in 1752	59,843 barrels.
1756	70,945
1760	56,237
1764	87,878
1768	130,256
1772	175,730
1776	231,529
1780	231,898.

1784

	1784	226,567
	1788	246,880
	1792	426,771
	1796	332,448
	1800	162,981
3½ 5th January	1804	38,016
2 years	1806	5,303

By this account it appears, that the quantity of ale imported had nearly doubled in twelve years ended in 1792; about which year the porter breweries began to be established. Now it is reasonable to suppose, that had it not been for the home supply, the quantity imported, in the last 14 years, would, at the end of the period, have been much more than double the quantity imported during the period ended in 1792; or, in short, that the annual average quantity imported would have been about 220,000 barrels. The home supply therefore, if the average quantity made in 1807-8 be in reality but 295,027 barrels, as before mentioned, more than the average quantity made in the period ended in 1784, has gone little further than merely to supersede the necessary importation. But it is obvious to every one, that the number of breweries in Ireland has been augmented since the year 1792; that the additional ones are on a much more extensive scale than the former ones; and that the proprietors resort to every expedient (the writer hopes with increased success) to induce the people to prefer their liquor to whiskey. And it is not to be believed that all these additional and greatly enlarged breweries manufacture no more than 295,027 additional barrels of porter or strong beer. The porter breweries of the city of Cork alone, which may almost vie in extent with some of the principal ones in London, will probably be found to produce near that quantity. Nor is it to be believed, that, in the city of London * alone, there are brewed 189,174 barrels of porter more than in all Ireland. But to proceed to other matters.

The number of the forces in Ireland has annually varied of late years. On the 1st of March 1806, the regulars were stated to amount to 28,890. The militia being added thereto, the number of the whole was probably not less than 50,000. The proportion of cavalry in this army, the writer has not ascertained. In the year ended in 1800, the cavalry amounted to 10,364, the waggon department employed 1773 horses: these, together

* The number of barrels of porter brewed in London, in the year ended 5th July 1805, was 939,900, of which Messrs. Barclay, Meux, Trueman, and Whitbread brewed 519,200.

with the horses belonging to the light artillery, general officers, infantry officers, &c. fell probably but little short of 13,000 in all. If it be true that this number has of late experienced a diminution of 2,000, there will still be about 9,000 horses, belonging to the army of Ireland, more than in 1785; the number then, in the cavalry regiments, being 1,956; and these being the only horses belonging to the army, in that year, except such as were kept by the general and infantry officers; the proportion whereof was smaller than at present. To supply with bread 40,000 additional foldiers, which, in round numbers, is the difference between the army in 1785 and 1806, would require at least 20,000 quarters of wheat*, or the produce of 8,533 acres, to which may be added about 1,500 acres for potatoes: in all about 10,000 acres. To supply the usual ration of oats, viz. 10lbs to each horse per day, would require 144,000 barrels of oats a year; or the produce of 22,152 acres: besides which they would require at 18lbs. each per day 26,100 tons of hay, or the produce of 13,050 acres of good meadow land.

These different increased demands then, if a due allowance be made for the tillage requisite to support the additional horses employed in husbandry, would require about 200,000 more acres of tillage than the demands, from the same quarters, did about the year 1784. And that number of acres under barley, wheat and oats would produce about 1,200,000 average barrels; which being added to the surplus produce exported in the year ended 5th January 1808, after deducting for the quantity imported, viz. 875,096 barrels, will make a total of 2,075,090 barrels; which exceeds the annual average excess of exported, beyond imported corn, meal and flour, in the period ended in 1784, viz. 41,912 barrels, by 2,033,178 barrels, which, taking an average of the prices of the several sorts of grain, and of the meal and flour, considerably below their actual prices, appears to be worth little short of three millions sterling. When the *whole* House of Commons, therefore, on the 5th December 1783, complimented the present Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer for having introduced a measure (the corn bounty and regulation bill) which promised to be of *material* and

* The army in Ireland make much use of potatoes: the allowance, therefore, of wheat is far below the usual allowance in other cases. The seamen are allowed one pound of bread per man per day, which is nearly equivalent to a quarter of wheat per year. One pound and a half of bread was the daily ration of a soldier in France before the Revolution.

permanent.

permanent advantage to Ireland, that assembly paid a compliment which subsequent facts appear to have most amply justified.

But these increased demands of the distillers, the brewers, and the army were as nothing, in comparison of those which must have ensued from that great augmentation which the population of Ireland has experienced since the year 1784. Respecting these demands, however, no fully satisfactory computation can be made, until the extent of that augmentation shall be ascertained; and of course no adequate idea can yet be given of the extension of tillage in Ireland since the era of the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn. Thus much we seem sufficiently authorized to say, that with a home demand, one-fourth greater than in the period last mentioned, the surplus quantity of corn exported, after a deduction made for the corn imported, is actually upwards of 20 times greater than it then was: and that there are at present a much greater number of acres appropriated to cattle than there were. It may also be observed, that the average annual excess of exported, beyond imported corn, in the two last years, was upwards of 5 times greater than during any period throughout the last century, anterior to the bounties. And that, with a population probably exceeding 5 millions, Ireland exports 44 times more corn, almost twice as much beef, near 4 times more butter, 54 times more live cattle, and upwards of 11 times more pork, besides a prodigiously augmented quantity of bacon, &c. than she exported in the first period of the last century, when, if the computation of Captain South be admitted as near the truth, her population did not exceed one-fifth of its present amount.

France, with a soil whereof one fourth part, at least, may vie, in fertility, with any other in Europe, exported, in 1784, various sorts of provisions to the amount of upwards of 400,000l. * But, in the same year, the value of the same articles, imported into that country, was upwards of 800,000l. In the year 1787, her exports of the same nature amounted to about 700,000: but her imports to near one million. The value of the surplus produce of land exported in a year, from Ireland, has frequently amounted to 4 millions; while the value of articles, for the sustenance of man, imported in the same year, has fallen short of 100,000l. Poland may export a greater quantity of grain than Ireland: but in the exportation of all sorts of provisions, the latter surpasses the former. If that part of the land of

* From Mr. Young's Tour in France.

Ireland which is actually employed in furnishing the beef and butter annually exported, were employed in the production of grain; and if that which is under tillage were cultivated as it ought, Ireland, notwithstanding the density of its population, would assuredly be competent to export an infinitely greater supply of grain to other countries than Poland ever sent forth.

The vast actual or potential exportation of food from Ireland is not, however, to be ascribed to the superiour fertility of its soil: for though, in this respect, it unquestionably excels England; in respect of produce, it certainly does not. It is to be ascribed partly to the nature of the food (potatoes) on which the inferiour orders chiefly subsist; and partly, but in a very great degree, to the general facility of exporting local redundancies of grain. Potatoes (the ordinary food of the agricultural labourers of Ireland) require a much less quantity of land for the production of a sufficient supply for a given number of persons than wheat, rye or maize: and so numerous are the ports of Ireland, so great its extent of sea coast, in proportion to its area, so convenient its rivers, and so good in general its cross roads, that in two-third parts of it, no farmer can be deterred from the pursuit of tillage by an inability to get rid of occasional redundancies of grain at a saving price. And these circumstances, if duly attended to, and made the most of, may render Ireland, under an improved mode of culture, the greatest food-supplying country that ever existed.

This reasonable, well devised and effectual act, the consideration whereof has perhaps become irksome to the reader, must not, however, be as yet dismissed. Its various beneficial and important effects have not yet been fully exhibited; and without an exhibition of these, the condition of Ireland cannot be sufficiently illustrated.

About 30 years ago, when Mr. Young travelled through Ireland, the average price of day labour was 6½d*. It now appears, by the statistical surveys of 16 counties, by parochial returns from 3 others †, and by information from different parts of the rest, to be 10½d. So that in 30 years it has risen about two-thirds: which is infinitely more than it had risen in any former period of equal extent; and a greater rise than took place in England in the

* About 25 years ago labourers were known to work from before sun-rise till after sun-set for 4d. in the county of Sligo, where the price of day labour is actually one shilling.

† See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

same space of time, since the middle of the 17th century. That this rise, which has greatly improved the condition of the labourers, who form so vast a portion of the community, and thereby tended, in an eminent manner, to the increase of population, must be wholly ascribed to the great extension of tillage, occasioned by this act, is sufficiently evident. The number of people engaged in the linen and cotton manufactures, the only extensive ones which have as yet flourished in Ireland, is inconsiderable in proportion to the number employed, either directly or indirectly, in agriculture*: and no increase of demand, that has ever yet happened, for the produce of the loom, could occasion so great a rise in the price of labour, throughout a country containing so large a population as Ireland. Three hundred thousand weavers and spinners are as many as the linen manufacture can at present employ, if the whole of their time were devoted thereto; and probably little more than about 60,000 persons are engaged in the cotton manufacture. But 360,000 people form so very small a portion of the class of labourers, in Ireland, that although they earned twice, or even three times, as much as formerly, such event could evidently have but little effect in raising the wages of the remainder. This act, therefore, may fairly be considered as the great primary cause of the unprecedented increase of wages which has taken place in Ireland since the year 1778.

To this act, we must also almost wholly ascribe that great augmentation which the rental of Ireland has experienced within the last twenty-six years. From the statistical surveys, no satisfactory information can be collected on this subject; but the information obtained from a variety of quarters, in addition to that which is to be found in the Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII., in the Appendix, enables the writer to state, with confidence, that since the year 1782, the rent of land, which a short time before that year had begun to fall, in many places, has been much more than doubled in all parts of Ireland, one with another, more than trebled in many; and that the greatest rise has been in those counties where tillage has been most pursued.

If Mr. Young, who appears to have taken much pains to inform himself on the subject, was grounded in computing the rental of Ireland at 6 mil-

* The number of people employed in agriculture, in an extensive country, has never been computed at less than one-fifth of the whole population, but generally more. See Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, v. ii. p. 198.

lions in 1778, there can be no hesitation in stating it at upwards of 15 millions at present, exclusive of the ground rent of the houses in the different towns. In a former section *, it was computed, that there were 13,454,375 acres of fertile land in Ireland; and it was shewn that the waste land in general afforded sustenance to vast herds of cattle. That each acre of the former, one with another, or on an average, yields to the landlord at least one guinea; or, which is the same thing, would yield to him at least that sum in the event of being re-let, will doubtless be universally assented to by those who have inquired into the fact. Few acres of such land yield less than half a guinea, vast tracts of it yield two guineas, several yield from three to five, and some yield even eight and ten. At one guinea on an average each acre, the rental would be 15,304,351l., exclusive of the rent arising from the waste land, containing 4,800,000 acres, and from the ground on which the town houses are built.

In 1676, Sir W. Petty computed the rental of Ireland at 900,000l., excluding quit-rents, tithes, &c. In 1727, Mr. Brown computed it at 2,025,000l., with the same exclusion, and without such exclusion, at 2,824,870l. Mr. Young, as just noticed, computed it at 6 millions in 1778. In about fifty years therefore, from 1676, the rental of Ireland appears to have doubled. In the next 50 years, it appears to have also doubled. But in the last 30 years, it appears to have increased so as to double in about 19 years†. And to the extension of tillage consequent

on

* Section 4th, part 1st.

† The following facts seems more worthy of notice than most others which have come within the writer's knowledge, as they demonstrate this increase of rent in places under very different circumstances. In a part of the county of Cork, where tillage has of late years been actively pursued, land let by the present Earl of Shannon's ancestor in the year 1738, for 72l., was lately re-let by that nobleman for 700l., to occupying tenants. His Lordship was offered more by the tenants, and also by their competitors; but complying, on that, as on other occasions, with the dictates of an excellent heart, a sound and reflecting mind, and superior principles of disinterestedness, that amiable and exemplary nobleman did not hesitate to make a laudable sacrifice to the comforts of his tenantry. Other land, the property of Mr. Townsend, in the neighbourhood of Skibbereen, in the same county, rendered valuable by the extension of tillage alone, and let on a lease of 3 lives for 30l., has lately been re-let for 300l. Other land, in one of the more remote parts of Ireland, the neighbourhood of Bantry bay, belonging to Mr. Hedges, and which yielded, under a long lease, but 60l. a year, is confidently expected to yield no less than 2,200l. The rich pasture land of the Buttevant estate, in the northern part of the county of Cork, belonging to Mr. Anderson, and contain-

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on the act under consideration, this unprecedented increase is, almost exclusively, to be ultimately ascribed.

But the landlords are not the only persons who have been enriched by the extension of tillage which this act occasioned. The revenues of the clergy also have necessarily been prodigiously augmented thereby. In fact, had it not been for this extension of tillage, the established clergy of Ireland, who may now vie, in opulence, with those of most other countries *, would, in consequence of the unjust abolition of the tithe agistment, and the non-payment of small tithes, in most places, have been among the poorest in Europe.

To this act likewise are the Roman Catholic clergy indebted, in a peculiar manner, for the increase of revenue which they have experienced. The farmers of their persuasion have been enriched thereby; the condition of the labourers of their persuasion has been improved; the number of both has been greatly augmented; and consequently the revenues of the clergy, arising from the voluntary contributions of individuals, have been proportionately increased: a circumstance which, with other considerations, begins to induce the more wealthy Roman Catholics to educate their children for the clerical profession.

That the internal trade of Ireland has increased in proportion to the extension of tillage, is sufficiently manifest; and must have been the case. Many branches of business are now pursued, some with vast, others with adequate profit, which, it is well known, were either not pursued, or yielded but little before this act began to operate.

The Table marked XII. in the Appendix, shews the great increase of the external commerce of Ireland since the year 1782. The imports have

ing 2,700 acres, was let on a 99 years lease, in 1706, by one of the Earls of Barrymore, for 180l. a year, and will now produce upwards of 4,000 l. a year. Part of the estate of the writer's estimable friend, and affectionate kinsman, Colonel Hodder, in the county of Limerick, let on a one-and-thirty years lease, in 1771, is about to be re-let to the present tenants for four times the rent they now pay; and yet others have offered still more.

* The writer has been favoured with an accurate return from the diocese of Cloyne; which states the number of beneficed clergymen at 56, and their revenues at upwards of 40,000l. a year. He has been credibly informed that the living of Middleton, in that diocese, which now yields 2,500l. a year, yielded but 900l. a year about 23 years ago. In the little diocese of Ross, which is chiefly under tillage, there are 8 livings worth a thousand a year, and upwards.

more than doubled; the exports also, if the real value be taken, have more than doubled; and the shipping of Britain employed in the trade of Ireland have been greatly augmented. The coal alone, purchased by the latter from the former, employs 250,346 tons of shipping more than 31 years ago; and the corn, sent by the latter to the former, requires near 100,000; and might be increased in quantity, so as to require, at least, 100,000 more.

SECTION IV.

Effects of the Corn Bounties on the Roman Catholic Population.

BUT there is a singularly important and interesting political light in which the extension of tillage, occasioned by this pregnant act, deserves to be attentively viewed. It has obviously and unquestionably tended, in a most eminent manner, to enrich and to augment the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And there can be little doubt that it will continue to do so, with unabated efficacy; and thus progressively increase the weight and influence of that population in the political scale of the empire.

Powerfully seconded by several contemporary acts of a patriotic nature, it has produced, and is actually producing a most momentous change in the circumstances of Ireland, which no wise statesman will overlook. The change which it has produced, and which it is annually perfectionating, with increased velocity, has already rendered unsuitable and dangerous all the measures of former times. It has already completely and finally precluded the possibility of recurring to them. It has suggested to wise men the expediency of others of an opposite nature. And without disturbance it will naturally and inevitably insure their adoption. To exclude, for instance, from the enjoyment of political equality, under a free constitution, like that of Britain, upwards of four millions of people, annually increasing in wealth and number, and actually constituting three-fourths of the population of the empire, and four-fifths of that of the valuable and unvanquishable country in which they live, may be, in the opinion of some, a very laudable and a very spirited undertaking; but there are not wanting others who find themselves prepared to pronounce it as egregiously a puerility as ever engaged the uninformed mind of a school-boy.

The ingenuity and address of party-leaders, aided by the declamations and arguments of ephemeral writers, may effect the alternate adoption and rejection of specific measures. But the circumstances of a people, or those of a vast portion of a people, will speedily render abortive all measures incompat-

tible with these circumstances; and slowly and imperceptibly, but surely introduce and establish that system of policy, whatever it may be, which is best calculated to afford the greatest degree of general satisfaction. If the admission of Irish Roman Catholics into the imperial legislature were manifestly and unequivocally repugnant to the welfare of England, their exclusion would stand justified upon the best principles of government. But if it be demonstrably conducive to the welfare of the empire, and inconsistent only with the senseless and artificial prejudices of the doltish part of the English community, it seems justifiable upon no principle that should govern the conduct of a statesman. If the circumstances of the Irish Roman Catholics be not such as entitle them to claim the surrender of a partial privilege, if they be not such as entitle them to equal deference, on the part of government, then let that privilege be pertinaciously maintained, in compliance with the prejudices of Englishmen, let that deference be shewn to Protestants alone. But whoever will take the trouble to view their circumstances, in a minute dispassionate and statesman-like manner, will assuredly find sufficient reason for thinking that acquiescence and respect are much more politic than inflexibility and contempt.

To suit the measures of government and mode of governing to the circumstances of a nation is true political prudence; and never fails to produce the happiest effects. On the contrary, to persist in measures inapplicable to the circumstances of a nation, and to govern in a manner inconsistent with the prevailing interests and opinions, betrays a high degree of political fatuity; and, in most cases, is followed by the ruin of the state. The Commons of England, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, were destitute of weight; but the slow and unobserved progress and effects of commerce raised them in the reigns which succeeded; until, in that of Charles the First, they acquired a real preponderating influence which that unfortunate monarch did not sufficiently perceive; and to which therefore he did not seasonably suit his measures. The Roman Catholics of Ireland have risen, and are rising like the Commons of England, but with much greater rapidity; and every loyal, unprejudiced and reflecting man probably feels a strong wish already that the measures of government, with regard to them, may speedily assume a much more conciliatory aspect and be much more satisfactory than heretofore.

But this act not only allured the Roman Catholics into a singularly advantageous pursuit, it has likewise ensured to them the most powerful protec-

protection while engaged therein. It has given them protectors whose sentiments may be hostile to their elevation; but whose interest will inevitably compel them to continue their protection, until the infant Hercules shall have acquired sufficient strength. The Presbyterian weaver of the north will readily make common cause with the Roman Catholic farmer of the south, who contributes to feed him. The Protestant landlord will always be the vigilant protector of his Roman Catholic tenant's source of wealth. He will draw his sword in its defence as promptly as he would in that of his own purse, which must from thence be filled.

Even the Protestant clergy, who may hastily and vulgarly be considered as the professional adversaries of the Roman Catholics, but among whom, in truth, religious enmity is rarely discernible, would be disposed to raise as violent an outcry if the tillage of Ireland were obstructed or depressed, as ever their brethren in England raised against popery. The tithe agistment which had been only forbidden to be demanded by a precipitate resolution of the House of Commons, in the year 1735, is now finally abolished, by the 40 G. III. c. 23.; so that the Protestant clergy are actually dependant, for their revenues, chiefly on tillage, with which these revenues must necessarily be commensurate.

The people of England too, of whose shipping upwards of 600,000 tons are actually employed in the export trade of Ireland; who carry on about three-fourths of its commercial business*; whose manufactures are encouraged by a vast annual influx of money, from Ireland, and who require a perpetual supply of corn from other countries, will not, it is natural to presume, be so far blinded by their long dormant, lately revived, absurd and impolitic enmity of popery, as to sanction, after reflection, any measure which may be discovered to have a tendency to discourage the agriculture of Ireland; and thereby diminish their gains, curtail their supply of food, and render their Irish debtors unable to answer their demands. No; it might rather be presumed that they would consult their interest better; and with that in view, hold forth every possible encouragement to the cultivators of

* The real value of the goods exported from, and imported into Ireland, one year with another, is near 20 millions sterling. The British merchants who carry on three-fourths of this trade, must consequently gain, at 8 per cent. profit, 1,600,000l. annually, exclusive of the profits of freight.

Ireland; and by doing so, effectually promote that cause which they have been weakly and wickedly taught to decry. And with them every Irish Protestant, in every branch of public business, must co-operate.

The act in question has, moreover, had the effect of creating a powerful though latent principle of union among Irishmen, which, in the unlikely event of a recurrence to measures calculated to diminish the profits of tillage in Ireland, would assuredly manifest itself with formidable and resistless energy. The manufactures of Birmingham, of Paisley, of Manchester or of Wakefield, may experience an interval of depression, and those who are subsisted by them, be, in consequence, turned adrift to enlist in the army, or with difficulty restrained from outrages by a military force. But let the tillage of Ireland, that great and principal source of its present and future prosperity and strength; that mine which annually increases the riches both of the Protestant and Roman Catholic laity and clergy; let that be obstructed, or rendered less profitable, for any length of time, and it is not a wretched mob of sickly manufacturers that will be raised; but the whole population of a country, crowded with warlike inhabitants, and abounding in enterprising and intelligent men.

From the Roman Catholics, then, as well as from the Protestant landlords and clergy of Ireland, the present Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer seems entitled to an ample tribute of gratitude; notwithstanding his vigilant, invariable and indefatigable opposition to the well warranted claims and just expectations of the former: an opposition, however, which the Roman Catholics must admit, has ever been free from that petulance, acerbity and malice which have characterised the opposition of others.

No series of energetic declamations, on the part of the Roman Catholics no series of satisfactory and conciliatory professions; no series of irrefutable arguments, grounded on principles of religion, could have so effectually served their cause, in the end, as the act under consideration. It has allured them into a pursuit, confessedly calculated, in a peculiar manner, to increase their wealth and numeral force; and consequently, to supply them, in an augmenting ratio, with the true requisites for rendering their voice efficaciously audible, without the necessity of having recourse to those paralyfing and hazardous expedients, which individuals, with more
ambi-

ambition and avarice than prudence and patriotism, might be disposed to urge.

Whether the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer foresaw all the distant, but inevitable effects of his seasonable and patriotic measure, and the combination or involution of heterogeneous interests which it was likely to occasion, the writer has never yet had an opportunity of learning. To presume that he did not, would be to detract from his reputed political sagacity. There seems no fit ground for believing that the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer did not know, when framing the act in question, that a very great majority of the Irish people professed the Roman Catholic religion; that the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants was much greater in the country than in the towns; and that it was infinitely more so in almost all those counties where tillage was most likely to be pursued, than in those wherein the linen manufacture gave employment to the industrious. It cannot easily be believed, that he was incapable of perceiving the truth of this opinion, which must have presented itself to the mind of every man of reflection, acquainted with human nature, that a propensity to employ their capitals on land would be great, among the Roman Catholics, in proportion to the restraints which they formerly laboured under in that respect, and which had but just been removed; especially as small capitals could no otherwise be employed with so great effect. It cannot easily be believed, that he did not foresee that a sedulous pursuit of tillage, encouraged by the bounties of his act, would speedily enrich those who pursued it; and eminently conduce to the augmentation of their number. It cannot easily be believed, that he was not aware of this indisputable truth, that in proportion as the wealth and number of any description of people in a community increase, an opposition to their just claims must decline and grow feeble. It cannot easily be believed, that he overlooked this truth also, that as all descriptions and classes of the Irish people were likely to derive, in some way or other, important benefits from an active and successful pursuit of tillage, every attempt to resume or defeat the measures to which such pursuit was attributable, would be strenuously, perhaps violently, certainly effectually resisted, not merely by the Roman Catholics, whose wealth and number must of necessity be annually augmented under the operation of these measures, but by the whole of the Irish community. All this seems difficult to believe, the writer therefore cannot

cannot hesitate to pronounce Mr. Foster as great a benefactor to the Roman Catholics, as he has unquestionably proved himself to be to the Irish nation at large.

The change, in the condition of the Roman Catholics, which the extension of tillage, in Ireland, and the increasing profit accruing from that pursuit, have occasioned, and will complete, is one of those great national circumstances which ordinary baffle the counteracting ingenuity and force of man; and produce their natural effects in due season.

Had the Roman Catholics been the only class of people benefited thereby, the means of their advancement might, but not without very considerable danger and difficulty, be reduced within their former compass. But almost every description of persons, in the United Kingdom, will be found to derive, in some way or other, a greater or less benefit from a successful pursuit of tillage in Ireland. So that it is impossible to obstruct the advancement of the Roman Catholics, without, at the same time, injuring many who may deprecate their elevation. And it cannot be supposed that any administration, it matters not on what principles it may be formed, will exhibit such an evidence of political imprudence as to do so.

Here one cannot help turning aside, for a moment, to contemplate the blindness of man, and the paramount agency of God. The endeavours which were used, in former times, to banish the Roman Catholics from the towns, had the effect of rendering the rural population chiefly Roman Catholic. In very many parishes, in the greatest tillage counties in Ireland, there is scarcely a Protestant to be found: in several not a single one*. The labour of that population has become the principle cause of augmenting the wealth of the nation; and operating thus, under the interested protection of all descriptions of people, must ultimately furnish the descendants of the banished with the only sure means of obtaining a participation of every political benefit with the descendants of those who deprived them of all. The Protestant clergy, naturally pursuing their own worldly interests, must find themselves urged to discountenance and exclaim against every measure likely to impede the tillage of Ireland; or, in other words, likely to obstruct the future advancement of the Roman Catholics. The

* See Table marked XXVIII. in the Appendix.

Protestant landlords of Ireland may, either in their own country, or in that which they have shamefully and inconsiderately preferred before their own, unite in resistance to the Roman Catholic claims: but they are evidently placed, by the operation of self-interest, under a necessity of forwarding the cause of their Roman Catholic countrymen as effectually, though in a tardy or circuitous manner, as if they were publicly to unite, as they ought to do, in supporting it. Under the same necessity, the several descriptions of people in England, who derive benefit from the commerce and wealth of Ireland, seem also to be placed; as are evidently the Protestant traders of Ireland. And thus it is that the self-interest of subordinate agents is made to work in behalf of the welfare of those whose welfare they have least in view.

The great extension of the linen manufacture, which happened after the year 1782, was, no doubt, greatly conducive to the augmentation of the wealth and strength of Ireland. But although the value of the exported produce of the Irish loom has always exceeded that of Irish tillage, the encouragement given to the latter has proved, and may prove of infinitely greater benefit to Ireland, and it might be said to the Empire at large, than the utmost extension of which the linen or any other manufacture is susceptible. Over every manufacture, the extension of tillage has this important advantage, that it induces the greatest increase of people, and, at the same time, an increase of the means of supporting them; and also an increase of the means of purchasing from manufacturers, of all descriptions, the varied produce of their labour. With the aid, almost solely, of the plough, the pasture and the linen-loom (for Irish industry can scarcely be said to have been directed to any other expedients,) Ireland soon rose, under several disadvantages, to a very high place among the nations of Europe. And there can be no doubt that, chiefly by the aid of the first, if it experience that fostering care which the last, its inferiour, has uniformly experienced, Ireland will speedily make, as Sir William Temple said she was qualified to make, "a mighty accession of wealth and strength to the crown of England."

SECTION V.

National Distinction ultimately attained by Ireland.

THE progress of Ireland towards that distinguished place, among European nations, which nature has qualified her to hold, became extremely rapid, soon after her independence was established, and her agriculture encouraged; much more so than that of any other country; as was truly affirmed, on the eve of the union, by the author of the measure just dismissed, and to which that accelerated progress was chiefly owing. And there cannot be a doubt, that, notwithstanding the recurrence of war, that progress would have been much more rapid, had she not still continued to labour under a sort of commercial impotency; and had it not been for a series of unpropitious events, occasioned by the weakness of some, and the wickedness of others. Notwithstanding these circumstances and events, however, Ireland has already attained a place in the second class of European nations; and has risen to a state which may, upon the whole, be considered as at least equal to that of Britain, about the accession of George II.

There appeared sufficient ground for computing the population of Ireland, in 1804, at 5,395,436 souls; and the average annual increase at 91,448 *. If such were really the fact, and subsequent researches have strongly conduced to substantiate the computation, it must, in 1808, be upwards of 5,500,000; and consequently on a par with the population of England, about the time of the revolution, according to the computation of Gregory King; but according to the computations of others, who, it is believed, arrived much nearer to the truth, within about one million and a half of its then amount.

The value of the goods exported from Ireland, in the year ended 5th January 1808, was 10,260,755l.†; that of the goods exported from England, on an average of three years, ended in 1728, or about the accession of

* Inquiry into the Population of Ireland.

† On an average of 4 years, ended in 1788 the value	- Livres.	£.
of the exports of France was	- - - - -	354,423,000 or 14,767,625
that of the imports	- - - - -	301,727,000 or 12,571,959
		George

George the Second, was, according to Mr. Chalmers, 7,918,406l.* ; consequently, allowing, on one hand, for the depreciation of money, and on the other, for the omission of several articles exported from Ireland, and noticed by Mr. Marshall, in his evidence before the Exchange committee in 1804 ; Ireland may, in this respect, be considered as equal to England then. But the export trade of the former was, in one point, more beneficial to the country than that of the latter ; as it consisted almost wholly in native products ; the foreign goods exported amounting to no more than 150,370l., which was by no means the case with the trade of England. The number of tons of shipping, employed in the export trade of Ireland, in the year ending the 5th January 1808, was 786,220 ; the number employed in that of England, in the year 1770, only 38 years ago, was, according to Mr. Chalmers's chronological table of commerce, 760,971 ; consequently, in this respect, Ireland, in the year ended in 1808, nearly equalled England, shortly before the commencement of the American war, and its concomitant French, Spanish, and Dutch wars. The value of the cargoes, then exported from England, was 14,266,654, or according to the prices current, about 17 millions ; or 7 millions more than the value of the cargoes exported from Ireland in the year adduced †. The gross receipt of the ordinary revenue of Ireland was, in the year ended in 5th January 1808, 5,551,669l. The nett income of England, arising from customs, excise, land, and polls, amounted, in the year 1691, when she was deeply engaged in war, to 4,249,757l. ‡ So that taking to account the extraordinary resources of Ireland, and allowing for the difference between the gross and nett receipts, and for the depreciation of money, the superiority of England, with respect to revenue, in the time of King William's wars, over Ireland, as at present, will not be found such as to render the comparison unfavourable to the drift of these pages. The revenue of the English crown, in the reign of King James the Second, when it was higher than at any former period, scarcely exceeded two millions. The gross income of the Post-office of Ireland, amounted in the year ended 5th January 1808, to 158,749l., that of the Post-office of England, foreign and domestic, in 1764, to 281,535l. § The average annual quantity of

* Chalmers' Estimate, p. 112. † 40l. per cent. is at present considered as the difference between the real and official value of British merchandize.

‡ Astle's Transcript. Chalmers, p. 64.

§ Chalmers' Estimate, p. 132.

corn of all forts exported from Ireland last year, was 875,096 barrels beyond the quantity imported; the greatest average excess ever exported from England was 1,080,077 qrs., which was not more than about twice the quantity from the former; or if the respective areas of the two countries be considered, nearly the same proportion of redundant corn. The rental of England, about the time of the revolution, was estimated by Gregory King at 10 millions sterling, and by Sir William Petty at 8 millions. The rental of Ireland cannot be at present estimated at less than 15 millions.

Of twenty-five European states, whereof M. Boetticher of Konigsberg has given statistical tables, Ireland is, in point of population, surpassed by eight only, viz. England, France, Russia, Turkey, the Austrian dominions, Poland before its partition, Spain, and the two Sicilies; in point of revenue by six, namely, the foregoing ones, except Poland, and the two Sicilies; in point of magnitude of capital city, by six, viz. England, France, Russia, Turkey, the United Provinces, and the Austrian dominions †; and in point of density of population, by the United Pro-

† Comparison, in number of houses, between the principal cities and towns of Ireland, and others of note on the continent, as the latter are exhibited in the statistical tables of J. G. Boetticher of Konigsberg.

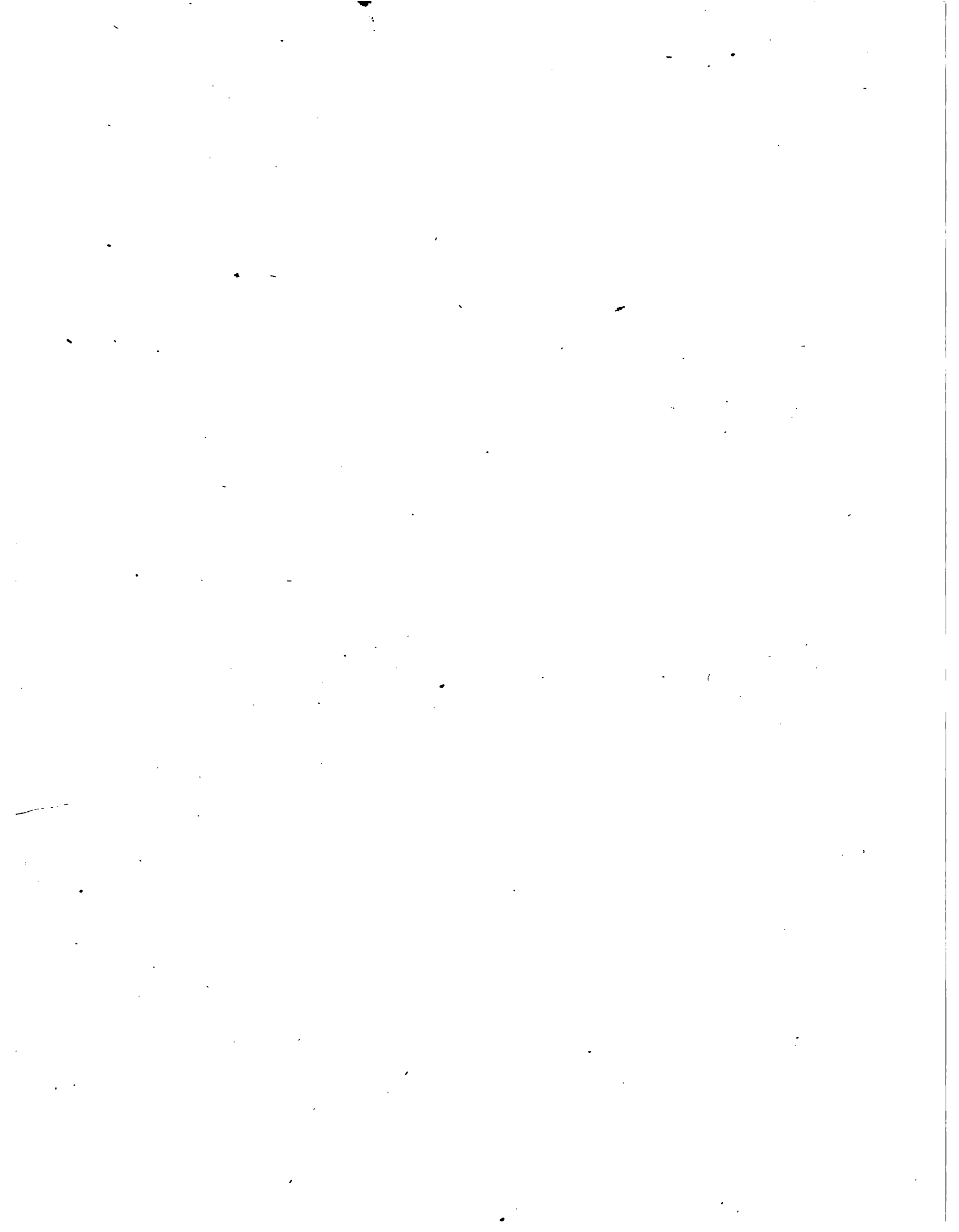
	Houses.	Inhabitants.		Houses.	Inhabitants.
Dublin	16,023	172,091	Madrid	13,000	140,000
Cork	* 7,000	61,250	Rotterdam	6,620	48,000
Waterford	3,107		Altona	3,150	
Drogheda	3,087		Breslaw	3,050	
Belfast	3,053		Warsaw	3,018	
Limerick	2,979		Frankfort on Main	3,000	
Kilkenny	1,548		Munich	1,700	
Newry	1,503		Manheim	1,548	
Dungarvon	1,377		Leipfic	1,400	
Clonmel	1,349		Frankfort on Oder	1,320	
Wexford	1,340		Drontheim	1,308	
Youghal	1,223		Lausanne	1,300	
Galway	1,212		Gotha	1,254	
Bandon	1,196		Osnaburg	1,250	
Sligo	1,172		Stralfund	1,200	
Londonderry	1,154		Zurich	1,200	
Dundalk	1,083		Berne	1,093	
Kinfale	1,036		Gottingen	1,000	

* The writer has been furnished with a return said to be taken from the books of the collectors of the hearth-money and window tax, by which there appear to be 27,267 souls in that part of Cork which lies north of the river Lee. This number at 8½ to a house gives 3,115 houses, which with those in that part of the city which was accurately surveyed, make 5,909, leaving only 1,091 for the central part, of which no survey has been lately made

vinces.

vinces, and the two Sicilies only. In respect of population and revenue, taken together, Ireland may be considered as on a par with the late dominions of the King of Prussia: the population of the latter but very little exceeding that of the former; and its revenue falling short of the ordinary revenue of Ireland, by near two millions. In all respects, except density of population, in the instance of the United Provinces, and the two Sicilies, Ireland ranks, in the scale of European nations, above the United Provinces, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Bavaria, Switzerland, Saxony, the State of the Church, Sardinia, Tuscany, Genoa, and the Electorates of Cologne, Mentz, Brunwick, and Triers taken together.

So that in all respects, collectively considered, she may fairly be reckoned as actually belonging to, at least, the second class of European nations: in population, revenue, and wealth, taken together, as equal to England in the early part of the last century, when the latter was dreaded and courted by her neighbouring nations: and in point of those natural advantages which favour the increase of wealth and people, as superiour, upon the whole, to almost any other country in the world.



P A R T IV.

OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE TENDED TO PREVENT A COMPLETE FRUITION OF THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF IRELAND, SINCE THE REMOVAL OF THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES WHICH OPERATED IN RENDERING THEM COMPARATIVELY ABORTIVE; AND OF THE EFFECTS RESULTING FROM THESE CIRCUMSTANCES.

SECTION I.

Endeavours of the Irish People, to improve their Commercial and Political Conditions.

THE progress of Ireland, towards national opulence and conspicuity, subsequently to the liberation of her trade, and the establishment of her legislative independence, was, it must be owned, extraordinarily rapid. It certainly, however, would have been both more rapid and more permanent, had her legislature acted in conformity with principles of national independence; and evinced a becoming sollicitude for her prosperity, by the adoption of those measures which were, confessedly, wanting to place her, in point of commercial protection, on a level with other independent nations; and especially, had that religious harmony, which enabled the people of Ireland to assert their rights, and which was so favourable to the pursuits of the industrious, been suffered to prevail, until the strong and inveterate suspicions, biases, and prejudices of individuals, which were daily declining, had grown feeble and inoperative. But so easily were the majority of the Irish legislature swayed to support the measures of successive administrations, uniformly more interested in behalf of Britain than of Ireland, that it was in vain to expect the former, without some reformation in the Lower House of Parliament: and as for the latter, it seems to have been unfortunately as incompatible with the projects of statesmen, as it was with the views of factionaries.

That requisite protection of the infant manufactures of Ireland, which the Irish people had so importunately solicited, and warrantably demanded, was pertinaciously withheld by their mercenary Parliament. The produce of British industry was still suffered to enter the Irish market without obstruction; while that of Irish industry was excluded from the market of Britain, by duties amounting to prohibitions*.

A noble Lord, of considerable talents, and much commercial research, took occasion to animadvert on the supposed presumption and folly of his countrymen, the Irish, in aiming at the imposition of such duties on the importation of British manufactures, as were necessary to afford due protection to their own †. His Lordship exhorted the people of Ireland to confine their industry prudently to one or two branches of trade; affirming that if they engaged in many, they would succeed in none. But his lordship either wilfully, or intentionally overlooked the limited inutility of a free trade to all the different markets of the world, unless the people who possessed a power of engaging in such trade were competent to supply the commodities therein respectively in demand. His Lordship likewise overlooked the steps which Britain had successfully taken in behalf of her own manufactures; and which necessarily became a guiding example, of no small influence, with the people of Ireland. His Lordship, moreover, was either not aware of, or not sufficiently impressed with the truth of Adam Smith's remark, "that to prohibit a great nation from employing their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind †."

The people of Ireland, having established the independence of their country, felt themselves in possession of an indisputable right to encourage national industry, in whatever shape, or whatever manner they might occasionally think fit. And they justly considered the habitual opposition of their government, to measures correspondent with the exercise of this right, as an evidence of a want of due patriotism; and a practical proof of a recurrence to that subserviency to the views of the British government, which had so long, and in so great a degree, proved inju-

* See Schedule of Duties, part 2d. Section 2. manufactures of Ireland by Lord Sheffield.

† Observations on the trade and Wealth of Nations. v. ii. p. 86.

rious to Ireland; and which, with the happiest effects, had been restrained, for a season, by the loud remonstrances of a united people.

A view of the probable mischievous effects of this subserviency, a persuasion of the necessity of protecting duties, in order to render the free trade available, despair of obtaining such duties, or indeed any other requisite commercial advantage, inconsistent with the supposed interest of Britain, from the Parliament constituted as it was; together with other motives equally cogent and just, inclined many loyal and moderate men, who deprecated parliamentary reform on the broad and pernicious principles which were then popular, to such a qualified and limited reform, as might give the constituent body more influence than it had enjoyed over the decisions of the Legislature.

This momentous question was first introduced into the House of Commons, towards the close of the year 1783, by the celebrated orator Mr. Flood. But its obvious incompatibility with the views of the venal and avaricious, prepared for it a most determined opposition from a vast majority of that assembly, on that, and all subsequent occasions. The circumstance indeed of its having been obtruded, on the legitimate representatives of the nation, by a deliberative body of armed delegates, sitting in the Metropolis, and, as it were, bearding the Legislature, and the plan which accompanied it tending rather to the ruin, than to the renovation of the constitution *, amply justified its rejection in 1783. The ardour of its advocates was, however, far from being damped by discomfiture. Mr.

* The plan of parliamentary reform, proposed by Mr. Flood, at the instance of the convention of delegates, extended the right of suffrage, in cities and boroughs, to all Protestants possessed of leasehold property, for 31 years, of the annual value of 40 shillings; and augmented the number of freeholders, in all decayed boroughs, to 70, in the province of Leinster, 100 in those of Munster and Connaught, and 200 in that of Ulster; such numbers being made up, when necessary, from the neighbouring parishes. This was equivalent to a total abolition of the decayed or close boroughs: an abolition which, however it might bring the system of civil polity nearer to theoretical perfection, would very probably have been ultimately productive of much greater mischief than it was expected to remove. To diminish the influence of the executive power, in the lower House of Parliament, was certainly adviseable; but this plan would evidently have confined it within a much narrower sphere than was requisite to the full enjoyment of the benefits of the constitution, or than perhaps was consistent with its preservation. The question of parliamentary reform having, however, fallen into very general disrepute of late, it seems unseasonable to discuss it here.

Henceforward Roman Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform became blended together : and, in the end, owing to an unfortunate vitiation of principle among those who supported these measures, were considered, and not unjustly, as the watch words of rebellion.

The very favourable and conciliatory sentiments towards the Roman Catholics, which were expressed at this meeting, and on various other occasions, both before and after; the conduct, correspondent therewith, which was almost universally observed by the Protestant body; the example of liberality which was set by the volunteers of Belfast, who went in a body to the Roman Catholic chapel, in that town, to hear a sermon preached for the purpose of collecting money for the embellishment of the chapel; the example of confidence set by the volunteers of Granard, who paid serjeants for instructing, in military exercises, their Roman Catholic neighbours; and a thousand other instances, in all parts of Ireland, of conciliation, liberality, amity and confidence, on the part of the Protestants, towards the Roman Catholics, and which were multiplied in proportion, as the season for exertion seemed to approach, had the necessary effects of creating the utmost harmony between them, and uniting them closely together: and the further effect, consequent on these, of exciting no small degree of apprehension among those whose measures required a disunion of the Irish people.

The aspect of the political condition of Ireland gradually underwent a most desirable change. Cordiality between the Protestants and Roman Catholics was now at its height. The partiality and insolence of the subordinate agents of the executive government, which the Roman Catholics had frequently reason to complain of, was every where industriously discountenanced and restrained. The laws became respected by all alike. The Roman Catholics, to whom they had long proved a source of terror, rather than relief, flew to them for protection, equally with the Protestants; and, on various occasions, evinced the utmost alacrity in carrying them into effect. The Roman Catholic clergy, treated with liberality, kindness, attention and respect, began to assist at those meetings, where their presence was becoming. Irish gentlemen, of the Roman Catholic religion, who had served in the armies of foreign princes, or resided, without occupation, abroad, now returned to their native country; and by the politeness of their manners, liberality of their sentiments, and respectability of their

their characters, attracted, in an eminent manner, the esteem of their Protestant associates. Every thing tending to revive the recollection of former animosity was scrupulously avoided. The attractive and amiable qualities of the Irish character suffered obscuration no longer. Ireland seemed to rise from a long trance, to the enjoyment of the utmost internal peace and felicity. But, alas! the season of tranquillity, union and strength, was of short duration.

The great and growing discontent of the Irish, on the subject of protecting duties, and their undiminished ardour in pursuit of parliamentary reformation, at length induced the British ministry to prepare for the establishment of such a commercial intercourse, between the sister kingdoms, as might prove equally satisfactory to both; and thus conduce to divert the people of Ireland from aiming at that speculative measure, which, in the event of its accomplishment, might have proved introductory to a similar one in Britain; and which, moreover, might have ultimately operated in destroying the constitution and dismembering the empire.

With the view of obtaining the requisite information for the arrangement of a system of this nature, the Lords of the Committee of the British Privy Council were directed to investigate the trade between Britain and Ireland; and to endeavour to ascertain how far the wishes of the mercantile body of the latter could be complied with, consistently with the welfare of the former. And in justice to the Lords who composed that committee, it is befitting to observe, that the general tenour of the questions, put to the different manufacturers who were examined, seemed to evince, on the part of the examiners, just and liberal notions of trade, and the absence of all unbecoming partiality to either kingdom.

With the information thus obtained, there was formed, for the consideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, a system of commercial intercourse, consisting originally of ten propositions. This system was, in the first instance, presented in February 1785, to the Irish House of Commons; where, no solid objection being urged against it, for, in truth, it was not liable to any such, on the ground of reciprocity, it was assented to with strong sentiments of approbation and gratitude.

About three months after, Mr. Flood again brought forward the question of reform, the zeal of the advocates whereof had already been considerably abated by the prospect of a satisfactory commercial intercourse between the

two kingdoms. It was opposed as before, though, on this occasion, the plan was left as it ought to have been on former ones, entirely to the discretion of Parliament.

The commercial system, on being transmitted back to England, with the sanction of the Irish Parliament, underwent a long, minute, and, in some respects, captious examination in the British House of Commons: and, at length, in consequence of the perseverance of opposition, and the accumulated remonstrances of merchants and manufacturers, Mr. Pitt, its powerful defender, found himself under the necessity of consenting to its being constituted of twenty propositions, differing essentially from the original ten; and containing wherewithal to irritate the Irish people, and transmute their recent satisfaction into the utmost discontent.

Accordingly, on being introduced, in its modified state, into the Irish House of Commons, it excited a high degree of disapprobation and indignation; grounded, however, rather on a qualified resumption of a power, on the part of Britain, to regulate the concerns of Ireland, than on any real, permanent and extensive commercial disadvantage to the latter: as, indeed, was fully shewn by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Hutchinson, in a letter to his mercantile constituents in Cork.

In order to preclude the possible mischiefs which might result from the various emergencies incident to a commercial compact between two kingdoms, circumstanced as Britain and Ireland, it seemed requisite that a power, competent to make and enforce such future arrangements as might be found necessary, should reside somewhere. In framing the first system of commercial intercourse, to which the Irish had cheerfully assented, this was wholly overlooked. The people of Ireland could not expect that such a power should be exercised by their Legislature. On the other hand, they had too recently experienced the bad effects of legislative subordination to admit of their acquiescence in any sort of controul on the part of the Legislature of Britain. To leave future necessary arrangements to the decision of the respective Legislatures of the two kingdoms, would have been to leave the system incomplete, and to risk its permanence; as their uniform concurrence in the expediency of all future measures, could, by no means, be expected. The repugnance, therefore, of the people of Ireland to the exercise of that power, on the part of the British Legislature, which the last system involved, seemed to induce the necessity of either
of

of the following expedients: viz, the establishment of a board, constituted of independent commissioners, equally and impartially drawn from both kingdoms; carefully removed from the influence of government; and armed with adequate discretionary power: or, a legislative union. Whether the former expedient was ever thought on, or found liable to insuperable objections, it is quite unnecessary to inquire. The latter was adopted: and there is ample reason to believe it was so, soon after the Irish Parliament had manifested its displeasure at that system of commercial intercourse to which the British Parliament had acceded. Lord Sackville earnestly recommended it, in the debate on the commercial propositions in the British House of Lords. But to carry this concealed expedient into effect, was an achievement which required much time; much address; much vigilance, with regard to opportunities; much discernment, with regard to selection; much promptitude, and much energy, during the season of action: for the Parliament of Ireland had become attached to its aristocracy; and the people of Ireland had been rendered enthusiastic in behalf of national independence, and exemption from the paralyzing controul of Britain.— Indeed, as the writer well remembers, it was considered as almost amounting to treason against the nation, to utter a syllable in favour of a Union. The Parliament was studious to preserve independence, chiefly on account of its tendency to enhance the services of individual members. The people were studious to preserve it, because it afforded them a better prospect of patriotic measures than they had before. But they were also anxious to reform the Parliament, in order to insure the adoption of those measures, which the private interests of a majority of the members induced them to oppose.

In the debate on that commercial system which involved a partial surrender of Irish legislative independence, Mr. Grattan, whose observations seldom failed to make deep impressions as well on the representative, as on the constituent part of the Irish community; and who generally experienced the most unbounded applause of his countrymen, maintained, “that Parliament was not omnipotent to accomplish their own destruction, and propagate death to their successors — that they, the limited trustees of delegated powers, born for a particular purpose, confined to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people who sent them to Parliament, could not break that relationship, counteract that purpose, or derogate from

from those privileges they lived but to preserve — that they might put down the public cause for a season; but another year would see old constitution advance the honours of his head; and the good constitution of parliament shaking off the prison of the tomb to re-ascend in all its pomp and pride and plenitude of power.”

This speech, like most of the speeches of that celebrated orator and patriot, was too rapturously and too universally admired, without doors, and two generally so within, to leave room for expecting a speedy accomplishment of a legislative union, or of any other measure analogous thereto. Few could have then been so credulous, or so sanguine as to believe in the possibility of a complete accomplishment of the views of the minister, in the short space of fifteen years. In fact, had it not been for a prompt and dexterous improvement of successive conjunctures, of a favourable nature, the Legislatures of Britain and Ireland would have been as distinct at this day, as they then were. Such also would have been the case, had the people of Ireland been aware of the project in contemplation; or constantly apprehensive of its being adopted: for under that impression, or that apprehension, deprecating an union as they did, even in a season of perplexity and dismay, they would have looked with suspicion on every attempt to divide them; and industriously have extinguished the causes of that national debility which facilitated the measure. But it was studiously kept from their view. They perceived no symptom of its approach. And those few who might have suspected the minister of being impressed with its expediency, probably relied, for its preclusion, on that combination of public and private interests, which seemed likely to govern the conduct of Parliament on questions of a vital nature. The day of its accomplishment, however, quickly approached.

That amity and union, among the Irish people of all religions, which had been daily acquiring additional strength; which had begun to produce the happiest effects in social life; which was evidently requisite to the welfare of Ireland*; which was so strictly consonant with the principles of Christianity; and which, under a just impression of the danger and absurdity

* Extract from Lord Clare's speech in the House of Lords, March 13th, 1793: "I lament, as much as any man, that religious bigotry, and religious distinctions, should prevail among us. I very well know they have proved the source of bitter calamity to the people of Ireland, and must necessarily, so long as they exist, retard her progress as a nation."

of its opposite, was so industriously provided for by the Americans, during the infancy of their rising republic *; was gradually weakened by a succession of finistrous events; and at length so generally destroyed, that the effectuation of the projected union became sufficiently practicable.

* Extract from an act for establishing religious freedom, passed in the Assembly of Virginia: -

“ That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than our opinions in physic or geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he possess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right.”

SECTION II

Revival of religious Enmity.

THE volunteers of Ulster, on occasion of their being reviewed at Belfast, in July 1785, by the venerable earl of Charelmont, the commander in chief of the volunteer army, presented his lordship with an address, in which they manifested a strong persuasion of the expediency of extending the right of suffrage to the Roman Catholics, in order to give the constituent body of Ireland that numeral importance which the welfare of the kingdom demonstrably required. His lordship, under the impulse of public, or it may be of private considerations, which it is unnecessary to undertake to discover, evinced, in his answer, such sentiments as left no room to doubt of his being adverse to the measure in question.

This first opportunity to disunite the Irish people was eagerly embraced by those who deprecated the effects of national union. His Lordship's answer, utterly irreconcilable with his apparent devotion to the Roman Catholic cause at a subsequent period, was industriously published in every part of the country. And so great was the influence which that noble Lord had acquired over the volunteer army, by his patriotism, his wisdom, and his moral worth; that his sentiments, on the subject of Catholic emancipation, thus prematurely and accidentally announced, were readily and, for the most part, even without examination, adopted by a vast majority of those who considered him as their commander in chief. Apprehension and distrust were, in consequence, soon easily revived among the Protestants.

But there being as yet no other than merely visionary or ideal grounds for either, they both would have been gradually dissipated by the operation of those just and liberal notions, with regard to religion, and that unprecedented zeal for the welfare of Ireland which prevailed among Irishmen of all descriptions, had it not been for an event of an extremely unpropitious nature which soon afterwards occurred; namely the insurrection of the peasantry in the province of Munster, under the denomination of Right Boys. This happened in the autumn of the year 1785. It appears to have been occasioned thus. The overwhelmed state in which the

the manufactures of Ireland still were, and were likely to be, through the want of adequate protecting duties; and the liberal bounties on the exportation of corn which were granted in the session 1783-4, had generally the effects of diverting the exertions of people of substance from the former, and directing them to the latter as the surest source of wealth. Agriculture, consequently, began to be pursued with spirit, especially in the south; and the country-gentlemen were, for the most part, deeply engaged or interested therein. Their attention was thus necessarily turned to whatever was likely to promote or impede this profitable pursuit. Among the circumstances of the latter nature, tithes were perceived to hold a conspicuous place. Rising with the value of the crop, they were considered as having the effect of discouraging exertions on the part of the farmers; and ultimately that of injuring the landlords, or at least preventing them from deriving the full benefit from their land. Their proportionate increase seemed to render them essentially more oppressive than the highest rents; as these last being fixed and unalterable for one-and-twenty, or one-and-thirty years, the proposing tenant had a previous knowledge of the burden he was about to encumber himself with, could decline it or not as he thought proper; and felt assured that, if free from tithes, the whole profit he might make by the expenditure of capital or superiour skill would be exclusively his own. Under these impressions, several protestant country-gentlemen, (at least if we are to believe the broad assertions of the pamphleteers of that day, which, by the way, the writer remembers to have then considered as well founded,) inspired the peasantry to resist the payment of tithes. This step could not fail to produce an immediate and extensive effect; the lower class of farmers being extremely poor; the agricultural labourers, who subsisted their families on the potatoes produced by a rented acre of land, being unequally and peculiarly oppressed by the demand of tithe, and the exactions and practices of tithe-proctors, tithe-farmers, and canters; and the inhabitants of the country being chiefly of the Roman Catholic religion, and consequently under the necessity of providing for their own clergy also*. The insurrection

* The tithes levied by the protestant clergy of Ireland, though for the most part confined to corn, hay, potatoes and flax, and, in some parts of Ireland, not extending even to all these, are yet, for the reasons briefly assigned above, more oppressive on the little farmers

rection accordingly spread quickly throughout the whole province of Munster, and even beyond it.

Doctor Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, whose episcopal revenue was, in a very considerable degree, derived from tithes; and consequently in danger of a serious diminution through the practices of the insurgents, felt himself urged to impress on the public mind the distresses experienced by the established clergy in the south. His lordship, however, did not confine himself to a simple recital or representation of the then condition of the protestant clergy, with respect to their revenues; but considered it as also incumbent on him to detect the latent cause of the outrages committed by the Right Boys; in order that an effectual remedy might be applied. The cause just mentioned, and which was evidently and confessedly the true and only one, was rejected as a primary cause, by his Lordship, who considered himself warranted in ascribing the effects, which were daily experienced, to an ancient and deep-rooted design to undermine and overthrow the protestant church. The station, the talents, the moral worth, the liberality, and the decorous conduct of that prelate conduced to occasion an unequalled circulation of his pamphlet, among the higher and middle ranks of the Protestants; and the circumstance of the infurrection having been confined to those counties wherein the peasantry are

mers and peasantry, than the numerous tithes which are levied by the clergy of England, and which affect not only the foregoing articles, but cattle, fowl, eggs, and almost every article which the farmer sends to market. The following extract from the tithe note of an English vicar will shew the Irish reader the difference between the demands of the English and Irish clergy.

	£.	s.	d.
Mr. T.—	4	8	4½
Wool	1	9	9
Lambs	1	13	9
1 Pig		7	0
Cows		1	10½
2 Mares and Colts		1	0
16 young cattle		8	0
2 Geese		3	0
Potatoes		4	0*
	£ 4	8	4½

* The charge for potatoes is 1s. per acre.

The usual charges for articles not mentioned in this note are as follow: viz.

	£.	s.	d.
Bees	0	0	6
Flax	0	2	0 per measure
Hemp	0	2	1 do.
Turnips	0	2	6 per acre
Eggs, one for each cock, three for each hen.			

chiefly

chiefly of the Roman Catholic communion, gave additional weight to his lordship's assertions*.

Much about the same time, Doctor Butler, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashell, a prelate of a highly respectable family, and considered as a man of much worth, published an account of the indignities and atrocities which the insurgents practised on the clergy of his communion; and which indeed were frequently noticed in the newspapers of the time. His publication however, replete with facts calculated to discredit the opinion, with regard to the origin of the disturbances, which bishop Woodward seemed solicitous to propagate, fell into the hands of few Protestants; and consequently failed, in a very great degree, to counteract the tendency of the former: a tendency which the enemies of union among the people of Ireland industriously fostered.

Apprehension and distrust were of course raised to a high pitch. Even in the county of Cork, where the Roman Catholic bishop, Lord Dunboyne, zealously assisted in concerting measures to put down the Right Boys; and where Protestant gentlemen were denounced as the fomenters of the disturbances, there appears to have been a very general assent to the opinion of the bishop of Cloyne. The Protestants now began, and were studiously taught to suspect the Roman Catholics of disloyal designs; and of aiming at the recovery of the possessions which their ancestors had forfeited. And a map of Ireland, vaguely descriptive of these possessions, published about this time, with what view it is hard to say, tended to confirm this last suspicion; which a little calm reflection would have shewn to be groundless; and which indeed was soon afterwards generally admitted to be so †. The welfare of Ireland, which so imperiously required
the

* See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

† If a fair resumption of forfeited property were to take place; which however is utterly impossible, the Protestants would certainly be entitled to tracts of immense extent and value; perhaps more extensive and valuable than those which the Roman Catholics could claim; a vast many of the latter being evidently of English extraction, while a vast many of the former, as their names evince, are of ancient Irish race.

The following English names appear in the list of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, who registered their names and places of abode, pursuant to an act passed in the session of 1781-2: Boland, Boland, Carr, Green, Ward, Jennings, Jennings, Hughes, Waldron, Hickey, Smith,

the strict union of the inhabitants, had now nearly ceased to be a primary object of concern with the generality of Irishmen; and the door was laid open for acting, with effect, on the Machiavelian maxim, *divide et impera*.

An expression used by Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, in the debate on the commercial propositions, viz. "that Ireland could not exist an hour, as a protestant state, if the protection of England were withdrawn," was, on many occasions, adverted to, and enlarged on as an indisputable truism, with the view of reviving, on the part of the Protestants, that apprehension of the Roman Catholics, and that consequent submission to Britain, which had sunk their country very far below that place in the scale of European nations which she was qualified by nature to hold.

Another event, strongly tending to perfect that disunion, which had now unfortunately been renewed between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, soon after happened. There had, for some time, existed, in the north, two obscure parties; the one constituted chiefly of Dissenters, and denominated Peep-of-Day Boys; the other of Roman Catholics, under the denomination of Defenders. These hostile parties, which the magistracy ought to have restrained and reconciled, had frequently come to blows; and their conflicts were attended with various success. At length the former, who on this occasion were not the aggressors, obtained, by the aid of the military and neighbouring gentry, a complete victory over the latter; and compelled them to quit the province of Ulster. They

Smith, Field, Percy, Broderick, Morris, Cummings, Hoity, Sherlock, Anderson, White, Brown, Caulfield, Jones, Rossiter, Ivory, Phillips, Rush, Williams, Swift, Shaw, Berry, Clarke, Clarke, Woodcock, Grace, Mortimer, Haydon, Mansfield, Gibbons, Gibbons, Carpenter and Wall; amounting to 42, out of 225. On the other hand, we find the following Irish names, viz. Leahy, Murphy, O'Brien, Ryan, Mahon, Grogan, O'Mara, O'Neile, O'Beirne, O'Connor, Kenny, Kearney, Kelly, Moore, Coughlan, Horan, Dunn, Magennis, Walsh, Donovan, Mooney, and a vast many others among the protestant clergy. We also find among them, the names of Barrett, Bourke, Butler, Fitzgerald and others of the same class, which, though not the names of aboriginal Irish families, are those of families of great antiquity in Ireland, and by whom vast tracts of land were forfeited in consequence of the successive rebellions in which religion was concerned.

presently

presently spread through the counties of Louth, Cavan and Meath ; were joined by considerable numbers of the lowest order of the people ; rifled almost every unprotected house of arms ; soon relinquished their original character ; and became downright levellers, without any apparent political object in view. [A considerable number of them, more peaceably inclined than the rest, sought refuge in the northern part of the province of Connaught ; and being for the most part industrious people, and conversant in the linen manufacture, were well received by the country-gentlemen ; who had been too much accustomed to a Roman Catholic tenantry to admit of their entertaining an objection to these emigrants on account of their religion. The treatment which these people had experienced from their former neighbours was not however forgotten ; nor did they restrain themselves from indulging in expressions full of rancour and resentment, calculated to excite a high degree of animosity against the Protestants, on the part of the Roman Catholics among whom they had taken up their abodes. This last effect appears accordingly to have been produced. A spirit hostile to the Protestants, accompanied by that undistinguishing spirit of levelling which pervaded the counties before mentioned, soon after broke forth in the northern part of the province of Connaught*.

The pervasion of this spirit, pregnant with various outrages, in both places, had necessarily the effect of heightening the apprehension of the Protestants, and increasing their alienation from the Roman Catholics.

Repeated expressions of distrust and hatred, which were known to have escaped from some of the higher rank of the former, and which were probably suggested as much by the inculcated, as the well-grounded fear of the day, appear to have discouraged many leading and loyal gentlemen, among the latter, in the county of Meath, from attending the different meetings which were held there, for the purpose of concerting measures to put down the Defenders, as the insurgents were then called ; and this circumstance was immediately laid hold of, and employed as an evidence

* The disturbances in the province of Connaught were very far from being formidable. The writer was ordered to proceed thither, as expeditiously as possible, from the county of Cork, with the north Cork militia then under his command. But a detachment of the Londonderry militia had completely suppressed the Defenders before his arrival.

of disloyalty on the part of these gentlemen ; though many who employed it as such, well knew that they themselves were not more loyal than the men whom they had the audacity to implicate in a general and unsupported accusation.

The progress of the Defenders, at length, rendered indispensable the active interference of the government ; which, by the way, had been so long postponed as to excite surprise and warrant censure.

The subject fell under discussion, in the House of Lords, in February 1793 : when the then Lord Chancellor, earl of Clare, who, it was well known, was far from being a friend to the Roman Catholics, took occasion to rescue them from those suspicions which the Protestants had become too prone to entertain. His Lordship said " he had conversed with Roman Catholic gentlemen respecting the Defenders ; that they declared to him, (and he knew them to be *loyal* and *honourable* men,) that they could not sift to the bottom of the disturbance ; that they believed the disturbers were set on, but by whom the principal gentlemen of their communion had been unable to discover. The House of Lords, unable to attach blame to the Roman Catholics, completely acquitted them of promoting or countenancing the disturbances in question ; yet these partial disturbances, in which the rabble only were concerned, like that in the south, were unblushingly proclaimed, by intriguers and factionaries, as an evidence of systematic hostility against the Protestants. To this cause, indeed, most of the successive local disturbances in Ireland have been habitually, blindly, and pertinaciously imputed, although their true causes were sufficiently obvious. The risings of the *Hearts of Oak*, and of the *Hearts of Steel*, all of whom were protestant dissenters, ought to have kept the Protestants free from this shameful and dangerous error.

But the event which raised the apprehensions of the Protestants almost to the desired degree, was one which occurred shortly before Defenderism became alarming ; and of which this disturbance greatly augmented the efficacy. The event alluded to, was the assembling of Roman Catholic delegates, for the purpose of discussing their claims, and laying them in due form before the Legislature.

So long as the Protestants had liberally, prudently, and becomingly extended their valuable aid to the Roman Catholics, the latter confidently left the amelioration of their political condition in the hands of the former.

But

But when that aid was wholly withdrawn, under the influence of groundless suspicions, insidiously propagated; when they found that every opportunity was taken to preclude them from a continued fruition of it, they naturally resolved to rely, on their own constitutional exertions, for the attainment of an equitable participation of civil and political rights with their protestant countrymen: and could not be destitute of a most sanguine hope that their increasing wealth and number would, sooner or later, dispose the Legislature to admit and comply with their well founded claims. This spirit of independence, which, by the way, they had imbibed from the Protestants, and this confidence in their own sufficiency, which a closer examination of their circumstances had inspired them with, were easily admitted, by a majority of the Protestants, as grounds of serious alarm: and several corporations and grand juries were, in consequence, without difficulty, induced to remonstrate against the proceedings of the Roman Catholics.

The delegates however of several of the northern counties, assembled at Dungannon, passed resolutions in favour both of parliamentary reform, and the complete emancipation of their Roman Catholic fellow subjects.

The expedient of alternately raising and depressing the Roman Catholics and Protestants, seems to have been, at this time, resorted to, with the view of increasing their mutual jealousy and apprehension; and with the ulterior view of facilitating the measure of legislative union, which certainly was in contemplation. The grand juries and corporations had scarcely manifested their disapprobation of the conduct of the Roman Catholics, when the latter, after being treated with contemptuous neglect at the Castle, were authoritatively encouraged to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. They did so. Their prayer was attended to. And the Irish Parliament was soon afterwards intentionally brought into disrepute, both among the Protestants and Roman Catholics, by being made to yield, under the influence of administration, to a measure which a considerable majority of its members individually deprecated; and which had before been scouted out of the House. The Roman Catholics, thus unaided by the Protestants, or rather notwithstanding their opposition, obtained that valuable right, the right of suffrage. The act which extended to them this right, viz. 33 G. III. c. 21. also exempted them from penalties for educating their children in the popish religion: and enabled them to hold all places,

civil and *military*, except a few of the more elevated and confidential ones.

The conduct of government, on this occasion, was evidently calculated to infuse additional confidence into the Roman Catholics; to alienate them from their Protestant representatives; and to sink the Parliament still lower in the esteem of the nation. The Protestants, out of doors, had found, in 1779 and 1780, that little national benefit could be obtained from Parliament unless recourse was had to intimidation; and the Roman Catholics, in 1793, found that no relief would be extended to them, unless through the interference of the minister. The important civil right which they were now enabled to exercise, and which, as we have already seen, the more patriotic, liberal, and prudent of their Protestant countrymen were solicitous to procure for them; but which government seasonably granted as a boon, to direct their gratitude to another quarter, placed them necessarily in such a situation, in the community, as rendered the withholding of the remaining benefits of the constitution from them, tantamount to a grievance.

“It is vain to imagine,” said Mr. Foster, when opposing the bill alluded to, that admission to the elective franchise does not draw with it the right of representation, it will follow, whether you chuse it or not; for upon what grounds can you say that men are fit to be electors, and unfit to be elected?”

To raise the expectations of the Roman Catholics still higher, and at the same time to turn the minds of the Protestants, by dint of alarm, from those projects of political improvement which they still very generally continued to cherish, Lord Fitzwilliam was sent from England, as chief governor, with discretionary power in respect of the further claims of the Roman Catholics; and their advocate, Mr. Grattan, was chosen as his secretary*.

From the moment, however, that his Excellency became impressed with the urgency of using the discretionary power with which he considered himself invested, his recal seems to have been resolved on. Earl Camden was forthwith appointed to succeed him. And those public men, who had given the strongest proofs of hostility to the Roman Catholic claims, were

* See the noble Lord's letters to the Earl of Carlisle.

invited to assist in the government of Ireland. The Protestant party, consisting of those who, on mere principles of faction, were adverse to the elevation of the Roman Catholics, and of those who had been alienated from them by misconceptions and misconstructions of recent events, now became triumphant: and the Roman Catholics, in their turn, were plunged into a state of despair, similar to that from which the Protestant party had just been rescued.

If the Presbyterians of Scotland, the Presbyterians of Ireland, or even those of England had been encouraged and disappointed as the Roman Catholics of Ireland were, the event would probably have soon been followed by serious disturbances. If the expectations of the Protestants of Ireland, when in pursuit of legislative independence, had been thus promptly blasted, there can be little doubt that a systematic rebellion would have ensued.

The leading Roman Catholics of Ireland, on the occasion in question, though highly irritated, forebore to outrage the principles of loyalty and prudence. The affecting representations, indeed, of the emigrant clergy of France, had occasioned a very strong, and a very general abhorrence of jacobinical principles, among the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland: and the latter could scarcely hope to intimidate government into a compliance with their wishes, without uniting with those by whom these principles had been, or were likely to be adopted.

This equipoise, this alternate elevation and depression of parties, this debilitating state of mutual jealousy, repulsion and dread, seemed to present an unprecedentedly favourable opportunity for introducing with effect, the long meditated measure of legislative union. The arguments and considerations which were subsequently urged in its behalf, had as much intrinsic cogency then, as at any other period: and happy would it have been for Ireland, and perhaps for the empire, had it been carried into effect, before blood was shed, wealth wasted, and religious rancour invigorated. But it appears to have been deemed premature and imprudent even to mention that measure, so long as there existed any reasonable doubt of its success. Besides, the then aspect of the circumstances of Ireland was such as to create an expectation, that a peculiarly propitious conjuncture would soon occur.

SECTION III.

Rebellion of 1798.

THE Roman Catholics had now become univerfally difcontented, and very generally alienated from the government, or exasperated againft it. The advocates for parliamentary reform, though greatly diminished in number, were, if poffible, ftill more zealous than they had been. Republican principles, analogous to thofe which were operating in France, were cherifhed by the Diffenters in the north. The preffure of tithes, and exactions of thofe who levied them, were as grievous as ever. And there exifted a fecret, well organised, and active fociety, that of the United Irishmen, the real objects whereof were to feparate Ireland from England; to eftablifh a republican government in the former; and to abolifh utterly, not only every difqualification on account of religion, but likewife all church eftablifhments. The feeds of rebellion were every where fown; and the means of bringing it to maturity were now in full operation.

This fociety, which may be traced back to the year 1784, appears to have been fyftematically inftituted in the year 1791. It confifted, in its incipient ftate, chiefly of thofe who, at the aggregate meeting of the citizens of Dublin, in the former year, and at feveral of the meetings in the north, efpecially in Belfast, were ftrenuous in behalf of extending to the Roman Catholics that right which government enabled them to exercife in 1793. It does not appear to have been originally actuated by rebellious motives, whatever may have been thofe of fome of the individuals who compofed it; but fimply by an ardent defire to improve the political condition of Ireland, by a reformation of parliament, and admiffion of the Roman Catholics to all the benefits of the conftitution. Even after it had affumed a confiftent form, there is reafon to infer, from its having had no connection with the Defenders, that the overthrow of all exifting eftablifhments was not the prevailing object of its members. It foon however embraced, and fell under the direction of the treacherous agents of France. Its endeavours were thenceforward fecretly and feduloufly directed to
 concen-

concentrate the passions and energies of the dissatisfied and disaffected of all descriptions. And with this view, its active missionaries artfully shaped their seductive language to the prejudices, propensities, and grievances which they found to prevail with different individuals, and in different quarters. It was very generally avoided by the higher orders; and universally so, by the moderate and reflecting men of both religions, who wisely deprecated the pervasion of French jacobinical principles through Ireland. But it was soon joined by multitudes of the lower orders of Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics; so that its leading members, in the year 1798, found themselves at the head of nearly 300,000 men, ready to attempt the overthrow of the government. They still continued, however, to exert their utmost activity in increasing the number, and perfecting the organization of the rebellious; prudently endeavouring to postpone the day of trial, until the arrival of expected succours from France.

Under these circumstances it, at length, became extremely difficult to prevent a rebellion. But it may fairly be questioned, whether this combination of circumstances might not have been seasonably prevented or countervailed.

To affirm that the government of Ireland facilitated the growth of rebellion, for the purpose of effecting the union, would be to hold language not perhaps sufficiently warranted by facts. But to affirm that the rebellion was kept alive for that purpose, seems perfectly warrantable.—The charge was boldly made, in the writer's hearing, during one of the debates on the union, by an honourable gentleman who held a profitable place under the crown*.—And to affirm, that that measure never would have been carried into effect, without the occurrence of a rebellion, similar, in respect of its attendant and previous circumstances, to that of 1798, is to advance what nineteen in twenty men who were acquainted with the political sentiments of the Irish people, at that time, will feel little difficulty in assenting to.

The explosion, which was now expected by all, was fortunately accelerated by government; perhaps under an apprehension of its becoming

* Many loyal inhabitants of the city of Cork are prepared to affirm that notorious rebels, men who belonged to a committee of assassination, were liberated without prosecution, and suffered to remain at large.

formidably extensive, if longer delayed. But however fortunate this step, with reference to the preservation of the existing establishments, the precipitate, rigorous, and indeed cruel expedients which were resorted to, in order to hurry the rebellious prematurely into action, can never be sufficiently deplored; inasmuch as they served to occasion, or sanction those ferocious retaliations, on the part of the rebels, which have cast an almost indelible stain on the Irish character: and can scarcely be recollected, by the kindred or friends of the sufferers, without the strongest sensations of abhorrence, and a total alienation from those whom it might be their duty and interest to protect and conciliate.

A rebellion, in consequence, broke out: and was attended, during the short time it lasted, with all the ferocity of former rebellions; and with those atrocious violations of the different relationships of social life which characterised the progress of jacobinism in France.

The state of high dissatisfaction, amounting, for the most part, to disaffection, in which the Roman Catholics were, or were naturally supposed to be, at the time when the rebellion broke out, in consequence of the cruel disappointment of their just and sanguine expectations, the abrupt dismissal of their friends from power, and the confidence which government reposed exclusively in their most determined adversaries; those suspicions of their ultimate designs, which the Protestants had recently been taught to entertain; and the violence with which the rebellion raged in several of the counties, where the Roman Catholics are much more numerous than the Protestants; together with the horrid barbarities practised on the latter, in these counties, by an infuriate rabble, occasionally headed or goaded forward by a few reprobate priests, whom their superiors had censured or silenced, sufficiently facilitated the currency of an opinion, that the rebellion was the work of the Roman Catholics: an opinion which, doubtless with a view to the accomplishment of the union, by means of a dissemination and invigoration of principles of distrust and division, it seems to have been thought expedient to propagate; and which, accordingly, was industriously propagated, very generally received, and still continues, with all its mischievous effects, to prevail; although sufficient facts are not wanting to prove it utterly erroneous. In truth, if a Roman Catholic writer were disposed to detract from the loyalty of the
Pro-

Protestants, on this and other occasions, he might perhaps find, in the annals of the last five-and-thirty years, as fit materials for his purpose, as a Protestant writer could find for the purpose of sinking his Roman Catholic countrymen in the esteem of the loyal. Those disturbers of the public peace, denominated *Hearts of Oak* and *Hearts of Steel*, were, for the most part, Protestant dissenters. The disturbances in the south of Ireland, in 1785, were fomented chiefly by Protestants of the church of England. And as for the rebellion in question, notwithstanding the multitude of Roman Catholics who engaged in it, and the barbarous outrages they committed, it may as fairly be called a Protestant rebellion, as a regiment is called a Protestant regiment, in which all the officers, and a considerable part of the privates, are of that religion.

In the initiative department, the executive department, the military department, the diplomatic department, and in the commissariat department of the rebels, the principal persons were, for the most part, Protestants. We find among them, the names of Rowan, Jackson, Tandy, Emmitt, Bond, Nielson, O'Conner, M'Nevin, Sheares, Toney, Edward Fitzgerald, Russel, Harvey, Lewins, Crosbie, and Grogan; all of whom were more or less prominent persons, and all of whom were either Protestants or Presbyterians, with the single exception of Dr. M'Nevin, who declared before Parliament, and was known to speak truth on the occasion, that the intention of the rebels was to abolish all church establishments; and that he would as soon establish the Mahometan, as the Roman religion.

The gentlemen who were most conspicuous, or vehement at the different Roman Catholic meetings, such as Messrs. Burn, Braughall, M'Donnell, Ryan, Sweetman, Geoghegan, Hamill, Warren, Keogh, Ball, M'Gwire, and Dr. M'Nevin, were not, with the exception of the last, as far as the writer's knowledge reaches, implicated in the rebellion. Had they been so, they probably would have accompanied some of the before-mentioned gentlemen to the gallows, or to a distant country; as the vigilant eyes of those, who entertained the strongest doubts of Roman Catholic loyalty, were perpetually directed towards them; and suspicion alone was said to have proved fatal to many, during the height of the contest.

By a return, found among the papers of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, it appeared that there were, in February 1798, 279,896 armed rebels, whose

pecuniary preparations, by the way, for carrying on the war, did not exceed 1,485l. 4s. 9d. Of these, 110,990 were in the province of Ulster, where the Protestants are infinitely more numerous than in the other provinces; and in one county of which (Antrim), as the writer was informed by an officer in that county militia, the Roman Catholics, on account of their superiour loyalty, were preferred, as militia substitutes, before the Presbyterians. In fact, it was among the latter, almost exclusively, that a rebellious spirit prevailed. Of the remaining 168,906 armed rebels, it seems extremely probable, that at least 8,906 were not Roman Catholics; and if so, there probably was not more than about one-fifth of the Roman Catholics able to bear arms, actively engaged in the rebellion; while there was one-half of the Protestants, able to bear arms, concerned therein: admitting that the rebels, in the province of Ulster, were almost exclusively Protestant dissenters; which seems very likely, as the rebellion broke out in the most Protestant part of that province. At the battles of Saintfield and Ballinahinch, the rebels, it is believed, were Protestants to a man. It does not appear that there was a single Roman Catholic organized, or prepared for the rebellion in the year 1797, except in the counties of Kildare and Westmeath, and the City of Dublin: in the latter of which, by the way, the whole number of rebels who surrendered their arms, after the extinction of the rebellion, and when it became both useless and dangerous to retain them, was only 1,064*. To these facts, it may be added, that Roman Catholic bishops exerted their talents and influence in behalf of the government; that Roman Catholic Priests effectually assisted His Majesty's commanding officers at the risk of their lives; that Roman Catholic yeomen, in corps commanded by zealous Protestants, and in corps commanded by Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, fought the rebels with the utmost alacrity and effect;

* Several months after this work was prepared for press, Mr. Parnell's faithful history of the penal laws fell into the writer's hands. The writer has not the honour of being acquainted with that gentleman; nor has ever had even an indirect communication with him, and yet the historic sketch given in this work, as far as it relates to the Roman Catholics, coincides almost as perfectly with Mr. Parnell's history, as if both were written in concert: a circumstance which may fairly be considered as tending to confirm the veracity of either.

and

and that several of those regiments of militia, which were composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, distinguished themselves against the rebels*; while Protestants of the higher and lower orders were in arms against the crown.

Notwithstanding these facts, the rebellion, because, in its progress, it raged among the rabble in Roman Catholic districts, was boldly pronounced a popish rebellion, by those who were anxious to have it thought so; and implicitly believed to be such by the prejudiced and unthinking dupes of the day; and by those who were unfortunately deceived by the atrocities committed within the spheres of their knowledge.

Had it, in reality, been a Roman Catholic rebellion, the extensive counties of Cork, Galway, Kerry, Waterford, Limerick, and Clare, which contain upwards of six millions of acres, or near one-third of the area of Ireland; and in which the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as at least 20 to 1, upon the whole, would certainly not have remained so tranquil as they did; nor have been so backward as to admit of the military force being drawn from any of them to put down the rebels in Leinster; which yet was the case. On the contrary, the rebellion would probably have raged, with the greatest violence, in these counties: some of them, as Kerry and Galway, for instance, by the remoteness of several of their districts from garrison towns, affording safe places for rebels to be trained to the use of arms; and, by their mountainous nature, presenting the most favourable theatres for the desultory and irregular warfare of rebels: and where they probably would have completely baffled some of those luxurious or foppish generals, who are too frequently found upon the crowded staff, and whose ignorance, incapacity, inactivity, and self-sufficiency, threaten to render British and Irish valour of little avail †. The King's troops are not always led to battle by a Stewart, a Moore, a Spencer, a Welleley ‡, or a Beresford who appears, to the writer, to possess every quality

* In the North Cork regiment of militia, of which the writer was major, about two years before the rebellion, the Roman Catholics were to the Protestants, as about two to one. This regiment lost about one-third of its number, or about 200 men during the rebellion; and as the writer has since been credibly informed, was never, in the least degree, disgraced, either by rebellious or mutinous practices or principles.

† It was long after the rebellion, that the mountains of Wicklow were cleared of the banditti who infested them.

‡ Notwithstanding the convention of Cintra.

which the Irish soldier, at least, could wish to see assembled in the character of his general; and under whose command, Irishmen will probably never disappoint the sanguine expectations of their King and country.

The Roman Catholics of Ireland have, for many years past, been a divided people: and there probably will never be a general coalescence among them, so long as there shall exist a becoming and laudable disposition, on the part of government, to gratify deserving individuals of that religion; and to conciliate the body at large, by steadily and uniformly restraining and discountenancing all unnecessary rigour, and every sort of injustice, partiality, or illiberality in the exercise of the different functions of the magistracy, and by holding forth due and effective encouragement to that spirit of industry which evidently gains strength and grows more prevalent among them. But should the principles of union be ever generally propagated, among the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the joint and continued agency of neglect, partiality, distrust, provocation and indifference with regard to those pursuits which incline them to peace; and should they, in a state of union, be driven to raise the standard of rebellion, by some projecting, headstrong, and inconsiderate minister, those who ignorantly or designedly under-rate their actual importance, in the political scale of the empire, will assuredly find them ten thousand times more formidable rebels than the rebels of 1798.

The complete suppression of this short rebellion, appears to have ultimately induced the necessity of employing more than 130,000 soldiers, of different descriptions, including upwards of 16,621 belonging to the domestic indisposible force of England*. The expenses of the military establishment, which amounted to no more than 1,891,967*l.* in the year ended in 1797, after four years of war, were raised, by it, to 4,965,122*l.* in the year ended 25th of March 1800. The net funded debt of Ireland, which in the former year, amounted only to 6,025,426*l.*, was augmented to 25,662,640*l.*† in the latter. The destruction of private property, which accompanied it, was very considerable; the claims of the suffering loyalists

*See Table marked: XV. in the Appendix.

† The regiments of English militia employed in Ireland were, the Bedford, 817 men, Worcester 1,159, N. Gloucester 1,169, Rl. Bucks 1,634 S. Devon 1,158, Dorset 1,126, S. Lincoln 1,047, Leicester 1,443, Kent 1,278, Hertford 1,275, W. Suffolk 1,358, First Lancashire 1,280, Warwick 1,877, besides one of the Yorkshire regiments and one or two regiments of the Welch militia, the returns whereof the writer has not seen.

having

having amounted to 823,517*l.* It checked the growth of manufactures in Ireland; prudent or timid men being discouraged by it from engaging in those pursuits which required the employment of considerable capitals. The demands of the numerous army, stationed in Ireland, conducted, no doubt, to increase the profits of tillage; and thereby to compensate for the repression of manufactures. But it is a fact, sufficiently well known, that a vast number of farmers hoarded up their increased gains, deterred, by the threatening aspect of the times, from employing them in improving their land, and thus increasing their wealth, and eventually that of the nation*.

The rebellion certainly increased the number of absentees very considerably; and consequently augmented the burden of taxes on the resident inhabitants of Ireland. It occasioned the expenditure of a vast sum of public money, in criminal prosecutions, which might have been employed, with the greatest benefit, in encouraging a spirit of industry. In the year ended 25th March 1795, the charge, for that purpose, was 12,000*l.*: but, subsequently to the rebellion, it has annually been 25,000*l.*† The rebellion, likewise, sanctioned laws inconsistent with the liberty of the subject, and the spirit of the constitution. Indeed the people of Ireland may be said to have been debarred from the enjoyment of their political birth-rights ever since that event; and to have been exposed to, what, it must be owned, they did not often feel, the rigours of military despotism. Finally, the rebellion effectually prepared the way for a disadvantageous and inequitable legislative union with Britain: a measure which could never have been accomplished without it; and which many of the supporters of that measure now lament.

* The effects of these increased gains, should tranquillity prevail in Ireland, will soon be visible on the face of the country. Already the farmers, in some districts, have begun to build stone and slate houses in lieu of their mud-wall thatched cabins, the facility of burning which, by night, without detection, exposed them to the vengeance of the rebels, in the event of their declining to join them; and which, therefore, is said, and with an appearance of truth, to have induced many of them to do so.

† See Number XXXI. in the Appendix.

SECTION IV.

Legislative Union of Britain and Ireland.

THE circumstances of Ireland, immediately subsequent to the rebellion, presented a singularly favourable opportunity for carrying into effect the long meditated measure of union. In truth a more auspicious conjuncture could not occur. And that which was then present was not likely to continue. Accordingly no time was lost in bringing it forward. Had it not been brought under discussion before the embers of rebellion were completely extinguished, and before those crazing passions and prejudices, which were necessarily excited or revived by that event, had begun to subside; had it been deferred for one year longer; or had administration omitted, or failed to impress, separately, the Protestants and Roman Catholics, then insidiously alienated from each other, with a belief that that measure was the only mean whereby their respective objects could be attained, the execution of it would certainly have been found impracticable. Even under the then existing circumstances of Ireland, when the life, property or power of almost every man seemed, in a greater or less degree, threatened with danger, from some quarter or other — when every man was disposed to grasp at almost any expedient that appeared to promise safety — when there was an army in the country competent to reduce to any terms the disunited Irish — when the dissatisfaction of one party, with regard to the measure in question, seemed calculated to insure the concurrence of the other therein — even in the midst of these difficult and embarrassing circumstances, petitions from the freeholders of 26 counties, out of the 32, were presented against the union, in February 1800; accompanied by petitions of the freemen, electors, merchants, &c. of ten towns, including Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Drogheda and Newry. These petitions, which then appeared without any of an opposite nature, except from the counties of Monaghan and Down, from whence petitions against the union had also been transmitted, proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the measure was peculiarly repugnant to the wishes of the people of Ireland.

The

The grounds, however, of this general repugnance were, as is usual on similar occasions, extremely different, according to views of different individuals. Some were violent opposers of the union, on account of its utter incompatibility with their private interests: and by the exertions of these, multitudes were taught to exclaim against it. Others still retained the deep impressions, with respect to Irish independence, which were made in 1782. Some still looked forward to a reformation of Parliament. And many were influenced by a persuasion that every benefit which a union could produce might be obtained without it.

But notwithstanding this general repugnance, the number of its real supporters in Parliament, and its nominal favourers out of Parliament, was at length, by stratagem, bribery, intimidation and promises, sufficiently augmented to enable the government to carry it into effect, without resorting to violent and hazardous expedients.

Of those who supported the union, few appeared to be duly impressed with the real expediency of that measure; which consisted, rather in precluding all possible future collisions of supposed national interests, especially with regard to commercial matters; and in the admission of the Roman Catholics to an equitable participation, with the Protestants, of all the political benefits of the constitution, without endangering the political power of the latter, or even affording them the smallest ground for apprehension, than in any other considerations. And yet that a legislative union of the two kingdoms, or some compact, involving a limited and occasional acquiescence of the legislature of one in the decisions of that of the other, was requisite, to preclude the hostile effects which might very possibly result from those accidental collisions; and that an incorporation of the British and Irish legislatures was necessary to remove those groundless, but prevailing apprehensions which operated in excluding the Roman Catholics from Parliament, and consequently had the effect of keeping them in a perpetual and dangerous state of discontent and irritation, were truths by which, it might reasonably have been expected, every unbiassed man, after due reflection, would be sufficiently governed.

In opposing, or supporting such a measure, a man, who had the welfare of his country, and also that of the empire at heart, would naturally have been

been governed entirely by his perception of the benefits or inconvenience likely to accrue from the different articles proposed as constituent parts thereof. If these articles did not appear equally beneficial to both of the contracting countries; if they were not strictly suited to the respective circumstances of each; if they were not susceptible of such modifications as future variations of these circumstances might require; if they appeared calculated to create, or continue dissatisfaction in either country; if they were not such as to insure the permanence of the contract, the dissolution whereof might occasion much more extensive and serious mischiefs than those which the projectors of it aimed at precluding, the duty of every true Irish patriot, and of every sincere advocate for the welfare of the empire, certainly required him to oppose it. On the contrary, if these articles were evidently calculated to diffuse future general satisfaction by securing, under all changes and emergencies, an equitable participation of commercial and political benefits to the people of both countries, true patriotism unquestionably required the sacrifice of that ridiculous national pride which was to be outraged by a surrender of legislative independence.

Instead of patiently and prudently discussing the proposed contract, with reference to its constituent stipulations, which positively was the only method whereby its real eligibility could be ascertained; the Irish House of Commons preposterously entered, in the first stage of the business, into violent and declamatory debates on the measure in the abstract; and suffered themselves to be governed more by national pride, individual interest, and speculative political notions, than by considerations of national benefit. The consequence of which was, that the minister, having obtained a majority in favour of the measure, in the abstract, found it eventually, an easy matter to secure a sufficient concurrence in its several articles: for those who had been swayed to support it at large, and had pledged themselves to do so, would have been guilty of unusual tergiversation by resisting it in detail. Had the assent of Parliament been suspended, until the different articles of the contract were thoroughly investigated, in all their bearings and effects; had each article been made the subject of a separate debate; it is not unreasonable to suppose that the union might have been rendered much more advantageous to Ireland; and, in the end, more beneficial

beneficial to the empire. For, sooner than have his long meditated and indeed expedient project defeated, the minister of Britain would probably have conceded much to the desires of the Irish Parliament, as he had before done to the British opposition, in the case of the commercial propositions. To the impatience and precipitancy therefore of the Parliament of Ireland, which the minister ought, in prudence, rather to have restrained than encouraged, we must impute the defects of the act of Union, and the probable future dissatisfaction of the Irish, consequent thereon. These defects, are certainly neither few nor inconsiderable.

First, consistently with the principles of equity, Britain ought to have given some, appropriate advantages to Ireland, in compensation for those which the latter unquestionably derived from the locality of her Legislature. Secondly, the commercial arrangement between the two countries ought to have been regulated by the consideration, that much of the wealth acquired in Ireland would necessarily flow into Britain, and remain there; while none of that acquired by the latter would finally be fixed in the former. Thirdly, some indemnification ought to have been prepared for Ireland, for the increased pressure of taxes which she was about to experience, in consequence of an addition to the number of her absentees: for it was evident that her public revenue would suffer a diminution proportionate to the private revenue withdrawn; and consequently that the burden of taxes would be augmented on that which remained, and industry be, in proportion, cramped; while in Britain, to which this private revenue was destined to flow, the contrary effects were to be expected. Fourthly, two countries, to which equal commercial advantages were intended, but in one of which manufacturing skill, capital, and industry, were raised to an unequalled height, and in the other, almost totally wanting, ought certainly not to have been placed on a level, in any particular; but due allowances made to the latter, until it had attained to an equality, or nearly to an equality with the former. The cotton manufacture of Ireland, was, in a considerable degree, fairly protected by the act of union; yet the import of cotton goods from Britain, can scarcely be said to be diminished. The value thereof, as appears in the return made to the Exchange committee, in 1804, on an average of seven years ended in 1796, was 99,943*l.*; and, on an average of seven years ended in 1803, 157,007*l.* On an average

rage of four years ended 5th of January 1808, it appears to have been 135,450l. * The exportation of cotton goods makes no figure in the Custom-house books of Ireland; and yet, as we may infer from the importation of cotton-wool and yarn †, the manufacture is thriving. Thus Ireland appears to have been benefited without injury to Britain. Fifthly, there ought to have been introduced an article to enable the Roman Catholics to exercise that right, which those who exercise the right of election cannot be debarred from, without political inconsistency, and indeed injustice. Had Britain and Ireland continued under distinct legislatures, there can be little doubt that they would, in process of time, have obtained that right, as they did the right of election. And it certainly is not politic, by withholding it, to increase the number of those who dislike the union; and to perpetuate dissatisfaction among a great majority of the Irish people. Thus much, however, may be urged in excuse of this defect, that the introduction of the article in question, after the fear and enmity of the Protestants had been industriously increased, might have proved fatal to the accomplishment of the union; at least in the only way in which its accomplishment could be properly sanctioned. Lastly, the number of representatives, allotted to Ireland, was by no means proportionably and equitably adjusted to those circumstances which ought to have been referred to, or which were referred to, on the subject of representation, by the framers of the act: an omission on which it seems necessary to enlarge; as, in the event of its being remedied, the people of Ireland may entertain a much more sanguine expectation, than they now can, of such an equitable general modification of the act of union as may render it a political blessing of superiour magnitude.

The number of representatives for Ireland, ought to have been adjusted to the population and wealth of the country conjunctively; or rather more to the former than to the latter; inasmuch as national wealth is more likely to be increased, under a good government, in proportion to the number of people, than the number of people in proportion to the augmentation of wealth.

* See table marked XI. in the Appendix. † See table marked IX. in the Appendix.
But

But to ascertain either the population or the wealth of Ireland, or to attain a competent knowledge of them, required a much more minute and comprehensive investigation than appears to have taken place.

In order to adjust the number of representatives for Ireland to her population, recourse appears to have been had to the returns of the hearth money collectors in the year 1791 : and in order to adjust that number to her wealth, recourse was had to her exports, imports, and public revenue ; rejecting or overlooking her rental, which was at least as fit a criterion as any of these.

By the returns of the hearth-money collectors, in 1791, there appeared to be 701,102 houses in Ireland ; and from thence was inferred the existence of a population of four millions, in the year 1800. That population, compared with the population of Britain, as it appeared after the accurate enumeration completed in 1801, when Britain, by the way, was found to contain more people than that country had generally been previously supposed to contain, entitled Ireland to 202 representatives.

By a return of the value of the exports of native produce and manufacture, agreeable to prices current, on an average of three years ended 25th of March 1799, Ireland was found to have exported to the amount of 5,650,853*l.*; and by a similar return, on an average of three years ended 5th of January 1799, Britain was found to have exported to the amount of 31,272,865*l.* The number of representatives to which Ireland seemed, by this comparison, entitled, was 100. By returns of imports, on the foregoing averages, Ireland was found to have imported to the amount of 5,275,063*l.*; of which she exported to the amount of 133,522*l.*; retaining, for home consumption, to the amount of 5,141,541 ; and Britain was found to have imported to the amount of 42,689,108, of which she exported to the amount of 11,865,029*l.*, retaining, for home consumption, to the amount of 30,824,079*l.* The number of representatives indicated for Ireland, by this comparison, was 93.

By returns of the net permanent revenues of both countries, paid into the exchequer, on an average of the years before mentioned, that of Ireland appeared to be 1,860,797*l.*, and that of Britain 26,349,794*l.*; so that, in proportion to public revenue, Ireland could claim only 39 representatives.

The number of representatives to which Ireland appeared entitled, by all these returns, taken on an average, was 108. In allowing her therefore 100 representatives,

representatives, principles of equity appeared to be sufficiently adhered to ; but, in reality, it was far otherwise.

For first, the returns of the hearth-money collectors had always been known to be considerably under the truth. The Inspector General of hearth-money gave it as his decided opinion to the writer of these pages, that not more than one half of the houses exempt from the hearth-tax was returned ; consequently the population contained in 112,556 houses, amounting certainly to upwards of half-a-million, was overlooked*. Besides, no allowance was made for the increase of people from the year 1791 to the year 1800, which was evidently great. The direct loss, occasioned by the rebellion, certainly did not exceed 20,000 souls ; even if the number of those, who voluntarily quitted their country, be added to that of those who were exiled or slain. Moreover the population of Britain appears to have been taken at eleven millions ; though it was not known to amount to that number, till after the union, and was generally supposed to be much less before it. Had the people of Ireland been carefully enumerated, they positively would have been found to exceed four millions and a half at least ; and consequently Ireland might have claimed, with reference to her population, at least 228 representatives instead of 202.

Secondly, it was unfair to take the exports of a country, among whose exports, provisions of different sorts held so conspicuous a place, as is the case with Ireland, during a period of three years, when she had to support an army unprecedentedly great. Had the value of the exports of the native produce and manufactures of Ireland, on an average of three years, ended in 1792, and which amounted, according to the official value †, to 5,061,913l., been taken and compared with those of Britain during the same period, and which amounted to 15,173,202l., Ireland might, with reference to exports, have claimed 179 representatives.

Thirdly, it was unfair to take the imports of Ireland, during three years,

* See the return at large, made to Parliament in March 1792, in the table marked XVII, in the Appendix.

† The writer has not seen an account of the current value of the articles exported, during this period. Foreign goods are included in the exports of Ireland ; but their amount has always been extremely trivial ; not exceeding 150,338l., on an average of the last five years, and not exceeding 25,931l., on an average of ten years ended in 1782. See tables marked XI, XII, in the Appendix.

whereof one was distinguished by rebellion, and the other two by unequalled alarm; as under such circumstances, people will certainly not purchase so largely, as during the prevalence of internal peace and exemption from apprehension. Had the imports of Ireland, during the period ended in 1792, and which amounted to 4,079,906*l.* been compared with those of Britain, during the same period, and which amounted to 13,530,532*l.*, deducting therefrom the foreign articles afterwards exported, Ireland would have appeared to have a claim, on this ground, to 168 representatives.

Fourthly, it was perfectly unjustifiable to resort to the net, instead of the gross revenues of both countries, the charges on the revenue of Ireland having been much greater than those on the revenue of Britain; and the expenses of collection infinitely more so. The balances likewise in the hands of the collectors of the Irish revenue, have always been, beyond all comparison, greater, in proportion, than those in the hands of the collectors of the British revenue. This, even at present, is the case. The amount of the former, in the year ended 5th of last January, was 325,231*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*; which, to the amount of the gross receipt of the Irish revenue, was as about one to seventeen. The amount of the latter, in the same year, was 346,611*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.*; which, to the amount of the gross receipt of the British revenue, was as about one to one hundred and twenty-two. But to the revenue of Ireland, whether gross or net, it was most unfair to resort; the collection of that revenue having been singularly defective, as was well known*; and the national debt, demanding an increase of revenue, having been trivial in the

* The introduction of a bill, calculated to insure a faithful and economical collection of the revenue, was suggested to the writer, the year before the union, by the present chancellor of the Irish exchequer; who kindly promised his valuable assistance in framing it. The former, however, expressing a wish that the business might be undertaken by a more competent person, declined it. Some time afterwards the bill was introduced by Colonel Barry, but without success; government, no doubt, perceiving its tendency to obtain for Ireland more favourable terms than those which had been resolved on, in the event of the question of union being carried.

Among many other instances which might be adduced to shew the expense attending the collection of the Irish revenue, the following one, taken from the report of a Committee which was appointed a few years before the union, is conspicuous. Expenses of the district of Clare and Ennis 224*l.*, produce 141*l.*: expenses of the district of Ballyrairie 110*l.*, produce 978*l.*: expenses of the district of Baltimore 2,938*l.*, produce

the year ended 25th of March 1799, in comparison of what it was ever likely to be, and really was, even in the following year *.

It appeared by the evidence of Messrs. Forbes and Edwards, taken before the Committee which was appointed to inquire into the scarcity of provisions in 1800, that whiskey illegally made could be sold for half the price of legal whiskey; that public stills did more illicit work than private clandestine stills; that not more than one half of the malt duties, and not one half of the spirit duties were collected: and their evidences were subsequently confirmed by the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the fees, gratuities, &c. of public offices †. For it appeared, by that report, that no fewer than, 4,131 unlicensed stills were seized in the year 1802 †. Their evidences are likewise further confirmed by the recent activity of the officers employed in collecting the spirit duties. For in consequence of that activity, 5,704,158 gallons of spirits paid duty last year; which was nearly one million more than had ever paid duty, in a year, before; and nearly two millions more than generally did so; although the consumption of spirits in Ireland has been greatly diminished of late, in consequence of the great increase of the spirit duties, and of a growing predilection for porter among the lower people. But the duties arising from malt and spirits have long constituted one of the principle branches of the Irish revenue. In the year ended 25th March 1800, they amounted to 852,990*l.*, forming about one fourth of the whole revenue; and in the last year, they amounted to 1,563,714*l.*, constituting two-sevenths of the gross receipt within the year.

The Irish national debt, and the additional revenue requisite to pay the interest thereof, at the time of the union, bore by no means the same pro-

duce 180*l.*: expenses of the district of Newport and Foxford 803*l.*, produce 421*l.*: expenses of the district of Ding'e 2,325*l.*, produce 613*l.*. Total of expenses 7,388*l.*; total of produce 2,333*l.*. The expenses of revenue cruisers and barges for 10 years to 1794, was 231,565*l.*: the amount of seizures, same time, was 53,649*l.*. The rate at which the Irish revenue was collected, from the year ended the 25th of March 1775, to the same month in 1794, was 14*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* per centum.

* See table marked XV. in the Appendix.

† The salaries of the collectors, surveyors, comptrollers, searchers, customs, of 21 ports, amount to 29,424*l.*. The salaries and fees of these different officers, in all the ports of Ireland, exclusive of Dublin, amount to 105,478*l.*. The salaries of the officers in the revenue department, in Dublin, amount to 47,984*l.*; their fees to 44,987*l.*; and their emoluments to 12,786*l.*

‡ See table marked XIV. in the Appendix.

portion

portion to the wealth of Ireland; that the national debt of Britain and the interest thereof bore to the wealth of the latter. The revenue therefore of Ireland was, in this respect also, an unfit criterion to be resorted to, in settling the future number of her representatives.

The existing revenues of both countries, now that that of Ireland is more faithfully collected than it was, though by no means so faithfully as it ought; and that its debt bears a nearer proportion to that of Britain, than at the time of the union, may afford ground for a sufficiently correct opinion with respect to the proper number of representatives, claimable by Ireland, with reference to her revenue. The net ordinary revenue of Britain, in the last year, was 38,339,152*l.*; the net ordinary revenue of Ireland, 5,896,818*l.* To adjust the number of representatives, therefore, of the latter, to the proportion of her revenue to that of the former, the number should be 85, instead of 38, which appeared to be the just proportion at the time of the union.

But the rentals of the respective countries ought to have been resorted to, as criterions of their wealth, equally with, or rather in preference to their public revenues, or any other criterion. Had this been the case, the number of representatives claimable by Ireland, with reference to rental, would have been about 186: her rental then, being certainly as near 15 millions, as that of Britain was near 45.

The number of representatives for Ireland, then, if fairly proportioned to population and wealth, ought to have been 150, at the least, instead of 100; the number claimable, with reference to population, being 228; with reference to exports, 179; with reference to imports, 168; with reference to revenue, 85, and with reference to rental, 186: the average of all which is 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.

But if it were deemed unbecoming to make an important and final arrangement, such as the union, upon grounds of a speculative nature, or any other than recent documents, the contrary of which, however, as far as the population of Ireland was considered, appeared to have been really the case, and much to the disadvantage of Ireland; a door, at least, should have been left open for re-adjusting the proportion of representatives; under a well warranted persuasion, that if the union produced the promised effect, Ireland would rise, in point of wealth, at all events, as near the level of Britain, as she had stood before the war and rebellion.

Even

Even though the union is as yet far from having produced the expected effect, with reference to the increase of wealth in Ireland, the number of Irish representatives, if proportioned to the actual comparative exports and imports of Britain and Ireland, would be much greater than allotted in 1800. The current value of the exports of the former, in the year ended 5th of last January, was 40,479,865l.; and that of those of the latter, 10,110,385. This would give to Ireland 133 representatives, instead of 96. The official value of the goods imported into Britain, in the year ended 5th January 1807, was 28,840,860l.; that of the foreign and colonial goods exported, the following year, 9,395,283l.; so that the value of those retained for home consumption, was 19,445,577. The official value of the goods imported into Ireland, in the former year, was 5,605,964, and that of the foreign goods exported, in the latter, 150,370l.; leaving, for home consumption, to the amount of 5,455,594l.; which would give Ireland 149 representatives instead of 89. The average number of representatives, adjusted to the actual exports and imports of Ireland, is 141: the average number adjusted to her exports and imports, in the three years ended in 1799, was 92, or 49 less.

It was positively affirmed, and indeed very generally expected, that, in the event of Ireland's enjoying, for twenty years, that commercial reciprocity with Britain, which was secured by the act of union, the national wealth of the former would approach much nearer to that of the latter than it then was. And accordingly the future United Parliament was, by that act, vested with a discretionary power to augment the public contributions of Ireland, in proportion to the value of her exports, imports and consumption of exciseable commodities; or in proportion to her income, as estimated by the produce of a general tax. Surely that Parliament ought, at the same time, to have been vested with a similar power to augment the number of her representatives in proportion to the increase of her wealth. And surely if the circumstances of Ireland experience the improvement which was promised, and looked to, the present number of her representatives, evidently unsuitable to the real circumstances of the country, at the time of the union, can scarcely fail to be warrantably deemed inadequate, unfair and a grievance.

That her circumstances will be improved, is expected and earnestly hoped by every reflecting man, who is solicitous for the permanence of the union.

union. In one important particular, they certainly will experience a change which will call for a larger number of representatives. The population of Ireland is known to have increased with infinitely greater rapidity, since the revolution, than that of Britain; and there is every reason to presume that it will continue to increase in the same manner; the causes of that increase still operating, and with augmented energy. So that the population of Ireland may soon become, if it be not at present, half as great as that of Britain; which would fully justify a claim, on the part of the former, to a greater number of representatives.

The contracted state of the representation of Ireland, and the peculiar personal circumstances of her representatives, have already proved disadvantageous; may be productive of injury, and seem calculated to preclude many benefits which she might enjoy.

In consequence of the abolition of those boroughs which first introduced a Burgh, a Grattan and other distinguished senators into public life, the office of representative has, for the most part, become confined to persons whose hereditary incomes are sufficient to supersede a necessity, on their parts, of submitting to inconvenience, or of qualifying themselves for the more important and lucrative stations under the government. Hence it happens, that those, who are uninfluenced by a spirit of party, seldom discharge their parliamentary duties, unless a journey to London be suggested by private business or pleasure; and that those, who are actuated by party considerations, do not diligently attend, in their places in Parliament, except on those occasions when adverse parties are likely to put forth their utmost strength. And hence it happens that the affairs of Ireland, which, towards the time of the union, usually occupied its Parliament during one half of the year, are either very imperfectly discussed in an assembly where few have any knowledge of them; or precipitately decided on, in consequence of a pressure of imperial business, during the short interval of a full attendance of Irish members.

As for the British representatives, so conscious are they, generally speaking, of their ignorance of Irish affairs, and so little solicitous about them, in consequence chiefly of that ignorance, that they seem to think it peculiarly irksome to attend their discussion; and accordingly these affairs, except such as are of a prominent party nature, are generally debated in the thinnest houses; or, indeed, we may say, left to the decision of a small committee.

committee of the former Irish House of Commons; perhaps not entirely free from the old propensity to jobbing.

This inattention and this neglect, on the part of the Irish representatives, have already occasioned much murmuring in Ireland; and will probably be hereafter the subject of loud complaints.

It may be urged, that if a greater number of the close boroughs had been left, Englishmen might be obtruded on the people of Ireland; and consequently, the number of their real representatives would not, in fact, be much greater than it is. But this might, and ought to have been provided against, by a clause in the act of union, disabling any person to represent an Irish borough, but a native of Ireland; and possessed of property to a certain amount therein. Indeed by neglecting to insert such a clause, the actual number of the real representatives of Ireland is reduced to about ninety.

To re-enfranchise a large number of the disfranchised boroughs would be utterly inadmissible. But to re-enfranchise some of them, with a more extended right of election, those, for instance, which shall be found to contain more than 500 houses*; to enable considerable towns, such as Carrick-on-Suir, Birr, Nenagh, Skibbereen, Cove, and others which did not formerly send representatives to Parliament, to do so hereafter; and to admit two representatives from each of the towns which now send one, does not appear likely to be attended with any inconvenience; and

* That endeavours were successfully made, when the disfranchisement of the boroughs was in question, to gratify several of their proprietors, who wished either to retain parliamentary influence, or to clear off incumbences, affecting their estates, there seems good reason to infer from a comparative view of several of the boroughs which were suffered to remain, and several of those which were disfranchised. Among others, those which follow:

Not Disfranchised		Houses.	Disfranchised	Houses.
	Enniskillen	}		Navan containing 608
	Portarlington			Mullingar - - 642
	Carrickfergus			Longford - - 588
	Dungannon			Tuam - - 560
		Total 1,450		Total 2,398

would

would give Ireland, what she certainly does not now enjoy, the benefit of an adequate representation.

The condition of Ireland, with respect to internal quietude, and the blessings of the British constitution, the maintenance of the former of which, and the enjoyment of the latter, were principal objects with many who consented to the minister's project, does not appear to be much improved by the union. Although Ireland has been comparatively freed from parliamentary agitators, who, by the way, never did half so much mischief as the agitators out of doors, but who were designedly denounced as the only, or principal mischief-makers; there happened an insurrection, not extensive indeed, but which excited almost as much alarm as the rebellion: and local disturbances have been just as frequent since, as before the union; parliament having never had either sufficient leisure, or sufficient inclination to inquire diligently into their true causes, and remove them. As to the blessings or benefits of the British constitution, the people of Ireland have had little experience of them; being to this day exposed to feel, what, it must be owned, they have, of late, but very rarely felt, the effects of military despotism. On the 25th of March 1805, there were no fewer than 1,474 persons confined, on suspicion, in the different prisons and prison-ships of Ireland. That a very considerable majority of these were deservedly confined, can scarcely be doubted. But, after making due allowance for the known lenity and forbearance of the late successive viceroys of Ireland, it may justly be suspected that many were confined, who either did not merit confinement, or were incapable of doing any serious mischief if at large.

With reference to commerce, the Irish people have no reason whatsoever to congratulate themselves upon the union. The commercial prosperity of Ireland has very visibly declined since that measure was carried into effect. The amount of the average annual excess of exports above imports, for 10 years ended 25th March 1782, was

	£ 467,419
The same, for 10 years ended 25th March 1792, was	608,107
The same, for seven years ended 25th March 1799, was	677,645
The whole amount of the balance in favour of Ireland, for twenty-seven years ended in 1799, was 15,498,813l.*	

But the balance for seven years

* Exports, medium of 1773-4	£ 2,896,895	Increase in 2d period per ann.	£ 270,983
1783-4	3,167,878	3d ditto	1,688,447
1793-4	4,856,325	4th ditto	73,008
1803-4	4,929,333		
	P P		ended

ended 5th January 1806, has been against Ireland to the amount of 7,410,730l., or, on an average, yearly, 1,058,675l. The average annual balance in favour of Ireland for three years ended 25th March 1792, was 982,007l. The average annual balance against her, for the same period ended 5th January 1802, was 1,490,977l., making a difference of 2,472,984l., in point of accumulation of commercial wealth. This statement is made according to the official value of the goods exported. If, however, a comparative view be taken of two periods, which seem least calculated to substantiate the foregoing remark on the subject of the union, viz. the three years ended in 1799 and the years 1801 and 1803, and the current value be substituted for the official value of the goods exported, the result will sufficiently confirm the remark: the average annual balance, in favour of Ireland, during the first period, being 551,809l.; and the average balance against her, during the second, 787,799l.; making a difference of 1,339,608l.

During a period of three years, ended 25th March 1782, the average annual official value of the exports and imports of Ireland was 5,842,926l. During a period of three years ended 25th March 1792, the average annual value thereof was 9,141,819l. So that, in ten years, the exports and imports of Ireland, taken together, had increased, in value, 3,298,893l. But during the period of three years ended 5th of last January, after the lapse of sixteen years, their value did not exceed 11,358,267l. So that it had not increased more than 2,216,448l., which was 1,082,445l. less than in the ten preceding years*.

In point of national debt, the union appears to have been much more detrimental to Ireland. The principal funded debt of Ireland, in the year ended 25th March 1800, was 25,662,640l. But in eight years ended 5th of last January, it had reached 70,647,783l.† which was, nominally, within a trifle less than 4 millions of the amount of the public debt of Britain, on the 31st December 1749, after a war of nine years ‡; and 23,986,016l. more than the amount of that debt, on the 31st of December 1738, when Britain was, by many, said to be on the brink of ruin.

* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

† See Table marked XV. in the Appendix.

‡ Chalmers's Estimate, p. 119.
The

The Irish debt was increased, each year, on an average, during seven years ended in 1800, 3,317,464*l.*; but, on an average, each year, during eight years ended 5th of last January, 5,623,142*l.*: being 2,305,678*l.* more than before the union; though the former was a period of both rebellion and war. Even during the three last years of the former period, one of which preceded, and the other of which followed the year of the rebellion, which induced the expenditure, in the military department, of 4,958,206*l.*, in one year, and which, by the way, was but 285,544*l.* less than the annual amount of the army expenditure in France, at the close of the American war*, the average annual increase of the Irish public debt was only 922,596*l.* more than in the latter period, which included a year of peace.

The clause in the act of union, which provides for the application of a surplus of the Irish revenue, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, proportional contributions and separate charges of Ireland, was, in all probability, introduced merely with the view of rendering the measure popular, by an illusive prospect of future good. At all events, the expediency of the clause is certainly not very likely to be evinced.

The number of absentees has manifestly been much increased by the union.—The amount of the revenues remitted to them, according to the opinion of Mr. Puget, delivered before the exchange committee, in 1804, was then 2,000,000*l.*; an amount which several intelligent men are disposed to consider as actually below the truth.—And it seems not improbable that the reduction of the carriage-tax, in the session of 1800, was made with the view of concealing that increase; for the tax, as may be seen in the Table marked XV. in the Appendix, was a rising one.

If to that vast sum there be added 1,517,885*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* being the actual amount of the interest, annuities and expense of management of the Irish public debt, payable in London, or rather, 2,187,822*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*, being the amount of the total annual expense, the future demands of Britain on Ireland, when these demands shall cease to be covered, as at present, by a vast annual influx of money into the latter, in the shape of loans, will appear to be a subject eminently worthy of early and serious consideration, on the part of those who exercise the powers of government.

* *Monf. Necker on the Administration of the Finances of France.*

Upon the whole, the union, which certainly might have been, and, indeed, still may be rendered extremely beneficial to Ireland, consistently with the welfare of Britain, and the expediency of which the writer is by no means prepared to question, cannot possibly be fairly considered, by its most sanguine advocates, as having hitherto afforded matter of congratulation to the people of Ireland.

SECTION V.

Pecuniary Demands of Britain on Ireland.

THE principal pecuniary demands of Britain on Ireland, consisting of the revenues and interest payable to Irish absentees and British public creditors, and which are actually covered and rendered inefficient by successive annual loans, are very different, as well in effect as nature. The former can never prove, in any considerable degree, detrimental to Ireland: the latter must prove extremely so, at least for some time, unless the proper steps be taken to preclude or counteract its effects.

In the hands of those from whom the revenues of absentees are drawn, an equivalent, or more than an equivalent is left. The land yields to the tenant, in Ireland, a profit as great, or perhaps three or four times as great as the rent paid to the landlord in England: and the money lent to the mortgager in the former, may have been employed to augment his revenue much more than the interest thereof, payable to the mortgagee in the latter, can augment his. But for the interest payable to British public creditors the people of Ireland have received little or no compensation. The money which has been annually borrowed has been expended chiefly in the maintenance of a vast military establishment. This expenditure has, no doubt, acted as an additional stimulus to the agriculture and internal traffic of Ireland; but the effects produced thereby have been very inconsiderable. Besides, large portions of it have been ultimately employed in purchasing an additional quantity of foreign goods for home-consumption: and the value of the imports of Ireland has, in consequence, of late years, contrary to what was almost uniformly the case before, exceeded the value of her exports*.

Had the money expended by Ireland, for military purposes, since the 25th of March 1798, viz. 40,504,350*l.*, or had the debt created since the

* See Table marked XII. in the Appendix.

5th of January 1801, viz. 38,697,127l. * been employed in the encouragement of tillage, or the improvement of waste land, Ireland would be an annual gainer to an immense amount, though she were obliged to pay three times the interest which she now does.

The absentees, in the event of a high rate of exchange, must experience a proportionate defalcation of their revenues. The British public creditors must be paid the full amount of their interest, whatever may be the rate of exchange.

The remittances to both, will necessarily hereafter induce an increased exportation of goods from Ireland; and thus give additional employment to the industrious. But for the goods exported, under the pressure of interest payable to public creditors, there will be no return whatever.

In fact, the remittances to British public creditors are tantamount to a vast subsidy annually paid by Ireland to Britain; or they are, in effect, the same as a very considerable foreign expenditure occasioned by the prosecution of a war.

The annual expense (according to estimates presented to the Irish Parliament, shortly before the union) of a regiment of cavalry, consisting of 684 men, being 34,752l. 4s. 5d.; and that of a regiment of infantry, consisting of 730 men, 23,560l. 10s. 5d.; an army of 25,428 men, 4,988 being cavalry, and 20,440 infantry, would cost only 902,960l. 10s. 7d. annually. The annual remittances on account of interest, &c. on the public debt, due in London, would, if uncovered by loans, actually exceed 2,000,000l. : and therefore, would suffice for the constant maintenance of an army of 25,428 men, after allowing upwards of a million sterling for ordnance, general officers, &c. The total sum annually applied by England towards carrying on the war, which ended with the peace of Rhyfwick, was only 3,393,634l.

It is to be observed too, that in addition to the arguments against excessive national debts, grounded on their hurtful tendency with reference to the industrious part of the community, it may be urged against the debt occasioning the vast remittance in question, that in other countries, but especially in Britain, the interest of the public debt is, for the most part, paid to residents; who, by the expenditure thereof, contribute largely to

* See Table, marked XV. in the Appendix.

the revenue of the state ; and by so doing, increase its ability to pay the interest : but that the principal public creditors of Ireland, not being resident therein, pay nothing towards defraying its national expenses.

The necessity of augmenting the burdens of the Irish people, in proportion to the aggregate of the incomes withdrawn from circulation, is perhaps the only solid ground of regret, afforded by the absence of wealthy landlords and others, at least in a financial or commercial point of view.

The vast remittances in question, and which will exceed four millions sterling, on the whole, cannot, it is evident, be made in specie. The circulating coin of Ireland, never amounted to six millions* : and consequently, if it still existed in the country, would be insufficient to pay more than the amount due in three half years. They must, and naturally would be made by bills of exchange, and the furnishers of these bills must, for the payment of the acceptors, create adequate funds in Britain, by a suitable excess of exported, above imported goods. Ireland will thus appear to have, what is called, the balance of trade immensely in her favour. But her accumulation of wealth will, by no means, be either commensurate or correspondent with that balance.

The difference between the trade which Ireland must drive, when these remittances shall be no longer covered by annual loans, and the trade which she drove before the union, and which yielded to her a balance of 1,371,381l., in the year ended 25th March 1798, is this. The latter consisted in the exportation of the surplus produce of land and labour, which, if retained at home, would have lost its value, and thereby repressed productive industry ; but being exported to markets where it was in demand, was disposed of for a greater price than the residue bore at home ; and, of course, occasioned an influx of money, or its equivalent, into Ireland, tending annually to enrich the nation, by its effects in improving the country, encouraging its internal traffick, and opening additional sources of wealth. The former will consist in the forced exportation of the produce of land and labour : an exportation, which, for some time at least, must raise the various prices of that produce, far beyond their due level, on the consumers at home : and which cannot occasion a proportionate increase of

* Evidence given before the Exchange Committee 1804.

wealth ; inasmuch as it will not be productive of suitable returns. The merchant, the manufacturer, and the farmer will gain ; but their respective gains will be countervailed by the necessarily increased prices of all imported and home produced goods ; unless, indeed, the exportation of the latter be, by seasonable measures, confined, as may be said to be the case at present, to two or three articles. If it be not, a general rise of prices must take place, as merchants will diligently seek for those articles which may be exported with the greatest profit ; and, by thus extending or generalizing their demands, eventually raise the prices of all commodities : an event which, in effect, is the same as a depreciation of money. The rental of Ireland, arising from land and houses, and which at present probably amounts, in the whole, to fifteen millions, after deducting the remittances to absentees, will, in this case, be gradually lessened in value, though it may gradually be nominally augmented.

It is to be observed also, that the commercial gains of Ireland are, in proportion, greatly inferior to those of other countries, especially Britain ; three-fourths of the Irish trade being carried on by British merchants, and seven-eighths of the shipping employed therein, belonging to Britons and foreigners *. Supposing the current value, at home, of the goods exported from Ireland, to be ten millions sterling, the profit of the exporting merchants 10l. per cent., the number of tons of shipping employed in the export trade 800,000, and the average price of freight 1l. 10s. per ton ; the ordinary profits of Irish merchants and ship-owners, would amount to no more than 400,000l., while those of British merchants, in the trade of Ireland, and British and foreign ship-owners would amount to 1,800,000l.

If the average annual value of the goods, actually exported from Ireland, exceeded that of the goods imported, by four millions sterling, the future demands of Britain on Ireland, amounting to that sum, would be attended with comparatively little inconvenience to the latter. But the fact is, that, with the exception of the year ended 5th January 1803, when Ireland enjoyed a favourable balance of trade, amounting to 917,299l. or

* Amount of the tonnage of the ships which cleared outwards in the several ports of Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1808.

<i>Irish.</i>	<i>British.</i>	<i>Foreign.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
92,856	615,702	72,662	781,220

rather

rather to 1,816,814, as the intelligent Mr. Marshall * proved to the satisfaction of the exchange committee, by an acute and able investigation of the true principles of trade, the balance of trade has been unfavourable to her since the union, while the balance of general debt has been the contrary. The value of her imports has greatly exceeded that of her exports. This, it is true, has been the effect of her increased ability to purchase, occasioned by a vast annual influx of money, in the shape of loans. But were these loans to cease to-morrow, the demands of Ireland would not be greatly retrenched; nor, by the way, could they be retrenched at all without injury to Britain. A favourable balance, therefore, to the amount in question, could not be obtained without a vast increase of exportation. And here it is proper to observe, that by far the greatest part of the commercial dealings of Ireland has been, and is with Britain and her colonies; and that almost the whole of the foreign commercial business of the former is transacted through British merchants. The annual current value of the goods exported from Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 25th March 1799, was 5,141,541l.: the value of the goods exported to Britain, and included therein, was 4,090,625l. The official annual value of the goods imported into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1808, was 5,993,362l. The value of the articles alone, which are mentioned below †, imported from Britain and her colonies, and included therein, was 3,607,075.

An ability, on the part of Ireland, to answer the future pecuniary demands of Britain, may be created, partly by a diminution of imports, and partly by an augmentation of exports, or solely by the latter. It cannot be created solely by the former; there being several articles, of the nature of necessaries and raw materials, such, for instance, as coal and cotton wool, and which two articles alone cost Ireland little short of a million annually ‡, which she must continue to import in as great, or perhaps greater, quantities than ever.

* Inspector-general of Exports and Imports.

† Blankets, Carpets, Coal, Cotton, Drapery, Earthenware, Groceries, Haberdashery, Hats, Hops, Hosiery, Iron and Hardware, Silk, Cotton-wool and Yarn.

‡ See tables marked IX. and XI. in the Appendix.

These demands, unless previously provided for, must be accompanied by a high rate of exchange against Ireland; and this high rate must obviously operate as a duty on imports, and a bounty on exports. Operating as a duty on imported manufactures, it cannot fail to prove detrimental to Britain. The prices of the different British manufactures, such as the woollen, the earthenware, the hardware, the hosiery, the haberdashery, hats, coaches, watches and watch movements, &c. which Ireland now annually purchases, to a vast amount, will be so raised as to induce the Irish to betake themselves, with unusual assiduity, to these manufactures. Operating thus, it will have nearly the same effect as the non-importation agreement, which was in agitation, in Ireland, in 1783; and then so much dreaded by the manufacturers of Britain. Operating as a duty on importation, it will also be disadvantageous to Ireland. Manufacturing industry may be thereby greatly stimulated. But the increased prices of coal, cotton-wool, flax-seed, ashes, bark, hops, timber, salt, sugar, tea, tobacco, &c. the diminution, occasioned by a general rise of prices, of the actual ability of estates gentlemen, and other wealthy people, not engaged in trade, to improve the country, give employment to the poor, and promote internal traffick, and the reduction of the revenue arising from duties on imported goods, inducing the necessity of a proportionate augmentation of the duties of excise, will effectually counteract, at least for some time, whatever benefits may accrue from the encouragement of manufacturing industry.

Operating as a bounty on the exportation of manufactures from Ireland, and, at the same time, as a duty on the importation of them, this high rate of exchange threatens to be eminently hurtful to Britain*. An ample bounty on the exportation of cotton and woollen manufactures, for instance, from Ireland to Britain, accompanied by a heavy duty on their importation from the latter into the former, might, in the end, notwithstanding British skill and capital, have the effect of transferring, in a

* The Earl of Lauderdale appears to have been aware of the injury likely to be sustained, by British manufacturers, in consequence of the nature of the approaching pecuniary transactions between the sister islands.

See his Lordship's Hints to the Manufacturers of Great Britain.

great degree, from Britain to Ireland, these valuable manufactures, the surplus produce whereof is actually, one year with another, worth twenty millions sterling*. The wool, used in the superfine cloths, may be imported, and worked up as cheaply in Ireland as in England. This is the case, in a still greater degree, with regard to the raw material of the cotton manufacture. Capitals would probably not be wanting. Many of the intelligent and enterprising master manufacturers of Britain would doubtless consider it as more conducive to their interest to remove, with their capitals, to Ireland, from whence they could export their manufactures to the greatest advantage; than to remain in Britain, and struggle against a vast influx of cheapened manufactures from the former. The teeming northern counties of Ireland would supply a multitude of weavers for the cotton manufactures; and it is allowed, that the best cotton weavers are those who have been originally employed in the weaving of linen. The printed cottons of Ireland have already been preferred to those of Britain. Should this removal of skill and capital ever take place, to any considerable extent, which, under the possible circumstances alluded to, is by no means improbable, the seat of the woollen, in a great degree, and that of the cotton, perhaps entirely, might certainly be finally transferred from Britain to Ireland; especially as the situation of the latter, with reference to trade with the western world, which now promises to open a vast and lucrative market, particularly for the manufactures of Manchester, is greatly superior to that of the former †.

Upon the whole, therefore, it seems advisable, with a view to the welfare of the empire at large, to endeavour to preclude the possible

* Official value of the cotton and woollen manufactures exported from Great Britain in the three years ended 5th January 1808 :

Years.	Cotton.	Woollen.
1806 - -	£ 8,771,271 - -	£ 6,005,540
1807 - -	9,896,166 - -	6,247,727
1808 - -	9,867,448 - -	5,372,089

The official value is generally about 40 per cent. below the real value.

† Mr. Janson says that 14,000 people emigrated from Ireland to America, in the year 1801, in Philadelphia ships alone; and computes that other ships brought across the Atlantic as many more in that year. He thinks they must have brought with them 588,000l. "*Stranger in America*, page 452." These emigrations were chiefly from the north.

effects which may ensue from the future demands of Britain on Ireland. And to preclude these effects completely ; to enable Ireland to answer fully the demands of Britain, without inconvenience; to confine the future increased industry of the Irish chiefly to one pursuit, noways interfering with, or obstructing the pursuits of British industry, but eminently advantageous in its effects, both to Britain and Ireland, seems extremely practicable, if recourse be seasonably had to proper measures.

SECTION VI.

Expediency of improving and extending the Tillage of Ireland.

IF the respective circumstances of Britain and Ireland be considered, the interests of both will be clearly perceived to require, that the future annual payments of the latter be principally made from funds created, in the former, by an increased exportation of corn. The superiour advantages of this expedient, in a general point of view, are obvious; and will appear very considerable, when viewed in contrast with the general disadvantages likely to result from a forced exportation of Irish manufactures, and an enhancement of the prices of goods imported into Ireland. The disadvantages of the former expedient, if indeed it be attended with any, are not easily discoverable.

The commercial opulence of Britain is derived chiefly from the sale of her surplus manufactures, the sale of her colonial produce, that of foreign merchandize, and the employment of her ships. She has long ceased to draw riches from other countries by the sale of redundant corn. Her strength, as a belligerent nation, depends principally on her navy. Her interest, therefore, as a commercial and belligerent nation, evidently points, in a special manner, to the preservation and extension of her markets for home manufactures, colonial produce, and foreign merchandize; and to the increase of her shipping. Hitherto the agriculture of Britain has prospered exceedingly, and there is abundant reason to expect that the extent of the home demand for its produce, so long as her present commercial prosperity shall continue, will be such as to ensure ample profits to her farmers, notwithstanding a vast importation of corn from other countries. The corn grown in Britain is actually inadequate to the increasing demands of an increasing number of home consumers; although the tillage of Britain has been improved, and greatly extended of late. A vast supply is still annually required; and a vast portion of the wealth, obtained by foreign commerce, is annually employed in purchasing that supply. During five years, ended in 1794, the average annual excess of corn imported into
Britain,

Britain, above that which was exported, was 1,145,584 quarters. During five years, ended in 1799, the annual average was 1,191,131 quarters. In the year 1800, the quantity imported, above that which was exported, was 2,259,379 quarters*. The average price of wheat, in the first period, was 2l. 7s. 2d. the quarter, in the second 3l. 3s. 5½d., and in the third 5l. 13s. 4d. In consequence chiefly of an extension of tillage, the import has, of late years, been somewhat diminished. Still, however, on an average of the five last years, it appears to have amounted to 770,000 quarters, exclusive of the corn imported from Ireland †.

On the other hand, Ireland, with a rapidly increasing population, exports an increasing quantity of corn ‡; and might be rendered capable of supplying the utmost possible demands of Britain. Her chief commercial wealth arises from the sale of the redundant produce of her land, and that of a single manufacture, the linen §. The money which might be expended by Britain, in Ireland, for the purchase of corn, if there were no balance to be annually paid by the latter to the former, would be much more advantageously expended there, than in other countries; as it would soon flow back to Britain, through various channels, after fructifying the land of Ireland. But as Ireland will have vast annual payments to make to Britain; and these payments must be made either by means of an increased exportation of manufactures, or an increased exportation of the produce of land; as the manufactures of Britain would be greatly injured by having their markets, whether home or foreign, glutted by the cheapened fabrics of Ireland; and as there exists, and is likely to exist, a great void in the British corn-market, which must be supplied from some quarter or other; it seems eminently conducive to the welfare of Britain that the tillage of Ireland be seasonably improved and extended, in such a manner as may enable her corn to protrude that of other countries from the British market.

There are other considerations also, sufficiently important to excite, in Britain, a solicitude for the improvement and extension of tillage in Ireland. In proportion as the tillage of Ireland is improved and extended, the wealth and number of those engaged therein will necessarily be augmented;

* Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, p. 322.

† See Table marked IV. in the Appendix.

‡ Report of committee on distilleries.

§ See Table marked X. in the Appendix.

and

and of course the demands for British manufactures and colonial produce be enlarged. On the contrary, if the Irish be allured, from the pursuit of tillage, to that of manufactures, by the operation of the virtual bounties and duties before noticed, not only will their demands for British manufactures be greatly lessened; but they will probably become formidable competitors with the manufacturers of Britain. The shipping interest of Britain may be greatly promoted by an increased exportation of corn from Ireland. It can be but little served by an increased exportation of manufactures. To pay a balance of 4 millions sterling in linen, for instance, would require 40 millions of yards at 2s. per yard; and to convey it would require only 5,952 tons of shipping, and about 356 seamen. But to pay that balance in corn would require 3,200,000 barrels, at 11. 5s. on an average each barrel, and to convey that number would require, allowing $9\frac{1}{2}$ barrels to the ton, 333,333 tons of shipping, and near 20,000 seamen. To convey the amount of that great balance, in other manufactures, would require, no doubt, a much greater number of tons of shipping than would be required to convey 40 millions of yards of linen. But there is no manufacture, likely to be established in Ireland, which would require, for its conveyance, half, or even one-third of the number of tons of shipping that would be requisite for the conveyance of corn.

As for the landed interest of Britain, it could not possibly sustain any injury by an increased exportation of corn from Ireland; so long as that exportation merely sufficed to fill up the actual void in the British corn-market. And if ever the produce of surplus corn, in Ireland, became so great as to exceed the supply required by Britain, the landed interest of the former would be as deeply concerned in securing for it a profitable vent in other countries, by means of bounties, as that of the latter could be in resisting its entrance into the British market, when likely, by its superabundance to occasion an abatement of the profits of farmers. An abatement of profit would be much more injurious to the farmers of Ireland than to those of Britain. Most of the latter could bear it: many of the former would be rendered insolvent by it.

Of the land of Ireland, there are probably above two millions of acres employed in the culture of grain*. Of these, it may be assumed that one-fourth

* Including about 800,000 acres of potatoes, and 155,000 of flax, the number of acres of land under tillage in Ireland may somewhat exceed three millions. The wheat consumed

fourth either belongs, in fee-simple, to the occupiers ; or is held by them under leases for lives or for long terms of years, and granted many years ago ; that one-fourth is held under short leases granted from fifteen to twenty years ago, and of which, one lease with another, ten years are still unexpired ; that one-fourth is held under leases granted at an earlier period, and of which five years are unexpired ; and that the remaining fourth part has been let shortly before, or shortly after, the commencement of the present century. Now if the prices of the different sorts of grain, one with another, have risen eight shillings the barrel since the different years, one with another, at which the leases of the second and third classes have been granted, and which has been confessedly the case, the occupiers of the land are enjoying a profit, after deducting four shillings per acre for increased wages of labourers, of 40 shillings per acre more than they did when their occupancy began †. Consequently an increased profit, amounting to two millions sterling, is annually accruing to the tillage farmers of Ireland, in addition to the gains of the first and fourth classes. And perhaps, by the way, this may be the true cause to which the present tranquillity of the country is owing ; for it must be confessed that there has existed some ground for dissatisfaction.

To secure their share of this profit to one half of the tillage farmers of Ireland, must needs be an object of concern with their landlords ; and to prevent a diminution of the gains of the fourth class, must needs be a matter of peculiar solicitude to them.

If the present nowise inconvenient prices be kept up, or nearly so, for ten years longer, a capital of fifteen millions sterling, destined to be, for the most part, employed in agriculture, or some sort of rural melioration, may be amassed ‡. But if these prices be not kept up, the farmers for

consumed in Dublin, Cork, and other towns may require 150,000 acres ; the wheat and oat-meal consumed in other parts 650,000 ; the horses employed in husbandry, by carriers and others, 450,000 : pleasure horses, post horses, horses belonging to the army 160,000 : ale, beer, spirits, and corn for exportation 340,000 : seed, fallow, &c. &c. 430,000 acres. The number of acres sown with flax seed, in the year 1806, according to the return of Mr. Duffin, was 96,064½ Irish measure ; equal to 155,607 English measure.

† See rise of land in tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix.

‡ About 30 years ago, Mr Young computed that it would require one hundred millions sterling to put Ireland on a level with England in point of agricultural improvement.

the most part, will probably be thrown into a dangerous state of despondency ; the wages of labour may be lessened ; and one-fourth of the farmers, or those who took leases within the last eight or ten years, and who were governed, in their offers, by the existing prices, will assuredly become bankrupt, to the no small injury of their landlords. As for the graziers, the value of their land will always be commensurate with that of the land in tillage.

To Ireland, an increased exportation of corn would be infinitely more advantageous than a forced exportation of manufactures. The latter, attended by a virtual duty on importation, would have the effect, as before observed, of raising the price of almost every article on the consumers at home. The former, being the result of an improvement and extension of tillage, could have no such effect. By this improvement and extension, corn not being the prevailing food of the lower orders in Ireland, a vast surplus or mass of disposable wealth might be created ; and which would go very far towards precluding, or perhaps might completely preclude every possible mischief which may be apprehended to ensue from the future pecuniary demands of Britain.

The British capitals, employed in Ireland, in manufactures, in the event of a forced exportation thereof, would, no doubt, give very considerable employment to the labouring poor ; but an extension of tillage would ultimately give more ; and British capitalists, when their fortunes were made in Ireland, would probably return with them to their own country.

To engage more extensively in manufactures, with a view to export, while a vast portion of the land may be reclaimed with extraordinary profit *, is certainly not so good an expedient for acquiring great and permanent wealth, as engaging more extensively in agriculture. An increased demand for food, on the part of manufacturers, would, no doubt, prove a very great stimulus to agriculture ; but an extension of agriculture, besides its peculiar good effects, would ultimately occasion demands on the industrious and ingenious, much greater in proportion, than the demands of an increased number of manufacturers on the cultivators of the soil. Agriculture is certainly the cradle of manufactures ; but the converse of the proposition does not appear true to an equal extent ; though the latter are doubtless, in a high degree, auxiliary to the former.

* See Part 1st, Section 5.

An extension of agriculture would necessarily occasion a general rise of the wages of labour. An improvement of tillage would augment the profits of farmers. Both would conduce to increase the rentals of landlords; and these three classes would thus be enabled to give additional employment to the industrious, and to enlarge their consumption of exciseable commodities, thereby augmenting the public revenue of the country: the sufficiency whereof, to answer the demands on it, is requisite to prevent the debt of Ireland from becoming a burden on Britain. By such extension and improvement, the internal trade of the country, its greatest and safest, would be eminently promoted; and by these means, also, much more than any other, its inland navigation, pregnant with wealth, would be forwarded.

The capital employed in agriculture, as Dr. Adam Smith observes, puts in motion a greater quantity of productive labour than that which is employed in any other way*; and of course must have a greater tendency to enrich the country. The extension and improvement of agriculture would occasion a diffusion and general increase of capital peculiarly auspicious to the pursuits of the industrious.

The encouragement of agriculture, considered in a political point of view, and particularly with reference to the circumstances of Ireland, seems fit to be preferred before all other expedients for encreasing her wealth. The people of Ireland have but lately emerged from a comparatively shepherd state; a state which, next to the hunter state, disposes, and qualifies a people most for war. They are settling fast into that state which is singularly favourable to the continuance of internal peace and a due execution of the laws. In a country where manufactures flourish, internal quietude and obedience to the laws may be expected; but they may almost be relied on, in a well governed country, where the people are actively employed in prosperous agriculture. In places where extensive manufactories are established, and those engaged in them crowded together, the morals of the people are less pure; principles hostile to the public peace are more easily propagated; and contingencies, calculated to excite popular clamour, are more to be apprehended, than is the case in those districts, where, however dense the population, the people are assiduously

* "It has been," says Dr. Adam Smith, "the principal cause of the rapid progress of our American colonies towards wealth and greatness, that almost their whole capitals have hitherto been employed in agriculture." Vol. i. p. 365.

employed in the culture of the land*. Such, for the most part, is the actual condition of the people of Ireland, and it deserves to be considered whether it would not be much more prudent to direct the attention of the Irish to agriculture, than to manufactures for export, even though a due encouragement of the latter were more likely to augment the wealth of the country than the extension and improvement of the former.

In truth there seems to be no other expedient, whereby Ireland may be previously enabled to meet the future demands of Britain, but that of a prompt and seasonable extension and improvement of agriculture : and it seems indispensably requisite to the welfare of the former, to prepare for the contingency before it shall happen. The actual condition of Britain, with respect to manufactures, is such as utterly precludes an adequate extension of them in Ireland, without legislative aid. But the act of union restrains the legislature from extending that partial encouragement to the manufacturers of the latter, which alone could enable them to become successful competitors with those of the former. The skill, and especially the capitals of Britain are calculated to beat down all competition on the part of the former, except under the operation of such virtual duties on the importation of British manufactures into Ireland, as would almost amount to a prohibition, and such virtual bounties, on the exportation of Irish manufactures, as would insure a profitable sale thereof in foreign markets. Ireland, consequently, cannot be prepared to meet the future demands of Britain by a seasonable encouragement of manufactures. But even if the Legislature were not vested with a power to hold forth the requisite encouragement to Irish agriculture, the assumption and exercise of that power, so obviously conducive to the general welfare, would certainly escape all reprehension.

To permit industry to take its own course, is a rule in political economy which every Legislature ought to observe. But, like other general

* In the diocese of Ross, in the county of Cork, the people are, for the most part actively engaged in tillage. The population is extremely dense ; amounting, in most places, to upwards of 600 souls per square mile : so dense indeed as to induce the necessity of frequent emigrations. This diocese has long been one of the most undisturbed in Ireland. The Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as about 31 to 1. See table marked XXII. in the Appendix.

rules, its strict application, in all instances, may be imprudent. Thus, if the industry of a people tend equally to manufactures and agriculture, and that the latter, in consequence partly of external relations, appear to be, upon the whole, pregnant with greater ultimate benefit than the former, the Legislature ought certainly to endeavour, by adequate encouragement, to confirm that tendency ; even though its concurrent tendency should, in consequence, be checked. Beside, agriculture, if pursued with spirit and skill, especially when the soil and circumstances of a country are favourable thereto, as is evidently the case with Ireland, becomes both the cradle of manufactures, and the greatest source of permanent wealth.

If the soil of Ireland were already as well cultivated as that of Britain ; if the waste land of the former were not infinitely better circumstanced for being reclaimed than that of the latter, and convertible into infinitely better land ; if, in Ireland, as in England, there existed a redundancy of capital, ready to be employed in agricultural speculations ; if internal communications, between all the different parts of Ireland, could not be more easily accomplished than such internal communications in almost any other country, it would be vain to hold forth more than ordinary encouragement to agriculture. But if the land of Ireland present an eminently copious source of wealth ; if that source has not as yet been made to yield a proportionate supply ; and if individuals are prevented from engaging deeply in agricultural projects and improvements, through want of capital, or through a deficiency of the means of conveying the produce of their industry to market, it is surely consonant to the duty and interest of government, to divert as large a portion of the public money, to the aid of agriculture, in various ways, as may be requisite to render that pursuit productive of the wealth which it promises.

To that pursuit, the industry of the people of Ireland is already principally directed : and their supplies of corn to Britain will probably, in consequence, annually increase. Much more encouragement, however, than the agriculture of Ireland has yet experienced is unquestionably requisite to render it adequate, when the time shall come, to supply the wants of Britain ; and furnish a surplus sufficient, by its sale in other countries, to meet her future pecuniary demands : and it is fortunate that the circumstances of the latter are well calculated to render such encouragement efficient.

SECTION VII.

Means whereby the Agriculture of Ireland may be extended and improved.

THE late and present high prices of all sorts of corn, and the prospect of their continuance, may probably be deemed sufficient encouragement to the agriculture of Ireland. It has, no doubt, been very considerably extended, in consequence chiefly of these circumstances; and will probably be much more so, even without any other encouragement. In several instances, the small capitals collected by farmers, whose leases were granted from 15 to 20 years ago, have been employed in reclaiming unproductive land; and many country gentlemen have been induced, by a prospect of extraordinary gain, to expend considerable sums of money in the same way. But the agriculture of Ireland neither has been, nor is likely to be pushed to the requisite extent, in due season, without much greater encouragement than it has yet received. Nor have the high prices in question occasioned, generally speaking, an improvement thereof. On the contrary, in cases where farmers have been long in possession, unusual gains have, in general, served to damp that spirit of improvement which, with the aid of sufficient capital, would be invigorated by a nearer approach of rent to the value of produce.

An unprecedentedly great demand for exportable commodities, necessarily accompanied by a proportionate rise of price, operating as a most liberal bounty on their exportation, may seem sufficiently calculated to occasion the requisite extension of the agriculture of Ireland; and such effect may reasonably be expected. But it is to be observed, first, that the expected demand, with its attendant enhancement of price, affecting all exportable articles alike, and thereby counterbalancing the benefits accruing to the different individuals employed in furnishing the different commodities for exportation, is the very evil which it is sought to preclude, by increasing the surplus produce of the Irish soil. And, secondly, that although the industry of Ireland tend much more to agriculture, than to other pursuits, it may justly be apprehended, that the expected increase of demand would serve to divert much of that capital into other channels
which,

which, by the feasonable adoption of adequate expedients, might be confined to the land alone ; where its employment would be more beneficial to Ireland ; and infinitely lefs injurious, or rather not injurious at all, but advantageous to Britain.

To confine the industry and capital of Ireland feasonably to agriculture, and to prepare her effectually for answering the future demands of Britain, without the intervention of a feason of difficulty, diftreff, and dependency, and without fuch changes in the nature of the commercial dealings of either country, as might poffibly be, upon the whole, detrimental to both, the exifting demand for corn, on the part of Britain, however great, aided, if indeed it be fo, by the premiums actually granted for the encouragement of tillage in Ireland, are utterly infufficient. Recourfe muft be had to expedients infinitely more munificent than the latter, and obviously better fuited to the purpofe than the former. In truth, the fums expended for the encouragement of agriculture, by the focieties which profefs to aim thereat, are paltry in the extreme. To expend lefs than two thoufand pounds a year, in the encouragement of that branch of industry, which might be made to add millions annually to the wealth of the nation, after amply reimburfing the public treafury for the utmoft expenditure that fuch encouragement could occafion, is a fpecies of economy which no financial exigencies, however great, can juftify*.

* The expenditure of the Dublin fociety, in 1792, under the head of agriculture, and planting was 4,285l. 6s. 4½d. In the year ended 5th January 1804, the expenditure under that head, according to the 31ft Report of the Commiffioners of Account, was only 461. 8s. 11½d., while the expenditure for officer's falaries and allowances, was 2,270l. 7s., and that for new buildings 3,100l. According to the 32d Report of the Commiffioners, the expenditure of that fociety, under the head of agriculture and planting, in the year ended 5th January 1805, was 269l. 13s. 8d., and in the following year 528l. 9s. 6d. According to the 31ft, 32d, and 33d Reports of the Commiffioners, the expenditure of the farming, or rather cattle fociety, under the head of agriculture and live flock, is as follows : viz.

In the year ended 5th January 1804.	£	1,376	15	8
Do. Do. 1805.		1,464	8	6
Do. Do. 1806.		1,444	14	3

What paltry, contemptible, inefficacious fums, even if the whole were applied to the encouragement of tillage ; but how fuperlatively fo muft they appear, after deducting from them the money diftributed in premiums, among noblemen, gentlemen and wealthy graziers ?

To

To increase the public debt of Ireland one million a year, during four successive years, for the two-fold purpose of encouraging agriculture and perfecting inland navigation, would have twenty, or a hundred times greater ultimate effect in liquidating that debt, or which is equivalent thereto, in lessening its pressure, than the best sinking fund that ever was devised. To the corn bounties of 1783-4, much more than to any other cause, is to be ascribed the actual ability of Ireland to bear a debt of seventy millions, with much greater ease, than she bore a debt of two millions in 1783. The practice of the utmost economy, which is not even mentioned now, was universally admitted to be requisite then. It is surely much better that Ireland, on closing the war accounts, should owe a debt of between 93 and 94 millions than a debt of 90 millions, if, by the addition of three or four millions, her land were rendered capable of producing an additional annual surplus of the value of at least three millions sterling. Might it not be expected that, in such case, the increase of her duties of excise alone would be much more than sufficient to defray the interest of the additional three or four millions of debt incurred?

That a judicious expenditure of much less than a million annually, for four years, in promoting agriculture, and inland navigation, would occasion a permanent addition of considerably more than three millions to the aggregate incomes of the people of Ireland, there seems not sufficient reason to doubt. And possibly the mode of distributing that sum, which the writer is about to suggest, may be found susceptible of such improvement in detail as might render it not ineligible.

It has been affirmed by persons, conversant in the business of internal navigation, that three millions, skilfully and faithfully expended, would give Ireland all the benefits thereof. One million, therefore, of the public money, combined with two millions of private money, with which, to insure a faithful expenditure, it must be combined, would suffice for that purpose: and the completion of the inland navigation of Ireland would alone occasion an immense increase of its wealth; as those who have looked around them, when travelling from Dublin to Banagher, will readily believe. There will then remain for the encouragement of agriculture between two and three millions: an enormous sum, it is true, but not more than is requisite; nor such as any financier, who duly reflects on the certain
and

sterling *. And if the public revenue of Ireland continue to hold that proportion to its exports, imports and rental which it now does, it would experience an increase of one million; or twice the sum requisite to pay near seven times the interest of the money advanced.

On another occasion †, it was computed, on good grounds, that there were two millions of acres of the land of Ireland employed in the culture of corn; and it was before observed ‡ that, in consequence of bad management, the land of Ireland, generally speaking, yielded much less, instead of yielding, as it might, one-fourth more than the land of England. If less than two thirds of the land under corn were made to yield one-third more than the present average produce, a surplus of 2,400,000 average barrels, worth 3,000,000*l.*, would be obtained. Or if one-sixteenth part of the waste land of Ireland were reclaimed, and one half of its corn land made to produce one-fourth more than it now does, 3,300,000 average barrels, worth more than four millions sterling, would be added to the produce of the country.

To change the system of husbandry in Ireland, with respect to succession of crops, would require some time; and be attended with some difficulty; but even without such change, the land might be made to produce much more than it does; and its produce might be rendered much more valuable, than at present, by means of liberal premiums. If the sum of sixty pounds were granted in each parish, in premiums of 2*ol.*; one to the farmer, holding under a certain number of acres, who should exhibit the best crop of corn, of any sort, on not less than four acres of the first class of land in point of natural fertility, one to the farmer who should exhibit the best crop, on the same number of acres, of the second class of land, and one to the farmer who should exhibit the best on the third class of land, a degree of emulation, skill, and attention, not hitherto visible, would soon be generally excited. The sum annually requisite for this purpose, there being 2,436 parishes in Ireland, would be 146,160*l.*: a vast sum, no doubt, but the effects of the expenditure

* Much of the land reclaimed would probably become pasture land; but an equal quantity of that which is so at present might thus be brought into tillage, without a diminution of the actual exports of the surplus produce of pasture.

† Section VI.

‡ Part, 1*st.* Section V.

thereof would soon do more than counterbalance any immediate inconvenience with which that expenditure might be attended.

A vast portion of the soil of Ireland, especially in the counties of Limerick, Meath, Tipperary, the southern part of the county of Clare, the northern part of that of Kerry, and a great tract of the northern part of that of Cork, seems particularly well adapted to the culture of lucerne, which may be deemed the most valuable of all the artificial grasses; and which, on account of its superiour value, is so generally cultivated in the richer districts of France. If by such liberal premiums as would effectually induce the graziers to cultivate and preserve it, 50,000 acres of it could be obtained, upwards of 200,000 acres of pasture land might be tilled, without diminishing the mass of food for cattle.

Clover, so carefully and universally cultivated in England and other countries, and which is one of the most common of the indigenous grasses of Ireland, is almost entirely neglected by the Irish. There certainly are not 20,000, nor perhaps 10,000, nor even 5,000 acres sown with it in all Ireland. If one half of that part of the tillage land which is let to lie, in an unproductive and almost sterilized state, for two years, and which certainly does not fall short of 100,000 acres, were sown therewith, it would be tantamount to an addition of at least 200,000 acres to the pasture land of Ireland. The farmers in the southern part of the county of Cork, where pasture begins to grow scarce, are getting annually more and more into the practice of sowing it; and liberal premiums would soon make that practice general.

The chief cause of the Irish wheat being almost unfit for the London market is certainly the badness of the seed. To purchase annually, for two or three years, about 30,000 barrels of prime wheat, and sell it to the farmers, at the medium market price, would probably soon render the wheat of Ireland at least equal to that of England. The difference of value between the middle-priced and best wheat, in the Irish market, is certainly not less than five shillings the barrel. The introduction therefore of prime seed, besides insuring a vent for the Irish wheat in the London market, would be attended with vast profit to the farmers.

The efficacy of example being likely to prove at least equal to that of the most liberal premiums which could be held forth for the improvement of the tillage of Ireland, it would be advisable to establish

Scotch or English agricultural families in those parts of the country, where they might be easily accommodated, and where they would be well received and protected. The instructions, the example, but above all, the success of these people, with respect to premiums, would, doubtless, have a very powerful effect in prompting the Irish to farm to greater advantage than they at present do. The sum now annually granted for Protestant charter-schools exceeds 22,000*l.* Their aggregate revenues amount to 37,000*l.* a year. The parliamentary grants, since 1745, have amounted to 561,999, and the duty on hawkers and pedlars, from that year to the year ended in 1789, to 50,277*l.*, making together 612,276*l.** And what have been their effects? 7,013 children have been apprenticed in sixty-three years, and 818 marriage portions have been paid. If it be necessary to promote Protestantism in Ireland, which the writer, though a Protestant of the church of England, and allied to none but Protestants of the same communion, is by no means prepared to insist on; surely it might be done much more effectually by establishing British Protestant families in Ireland, than by training up to Protestantism an inconsiderable number of children, of whom one half, at least, revert to the religion of their ancestors. The sum above mentioned would have established, in a very comfortable manner, 2040 Protestant families, allowing 300*l.* for the establishment of each; and these families, allowing but five souls in each, on an average, would have comprised 10,200 Protestants, or 3,187 more than were sent from the schools. The sum granted annually, on an average of the three last years, for the charter-schools, would suffice to establish, in Ireland, each year 76 British families, comprising 380 souls. The remainder of the revenues of the charter-schools, if faithfully applied, would serve to maintain, and train up to Protestantism, a very considerable number of orphans.

The malt liquors and the spirits of Ireland have of late, in several places, been greatly improved. Ample premiums of from 1,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* annually given, during three or four years, for the best cask of each exhibited on an appointed day, might have the effect of improving their qualities so highly, as to give them a degree of repute in foreign markets, which might ultimately occasion an immense sale; and thereby infinitely

* See title marked XXV. in the Appendix.

augment that encouragement which they have already, especially of late, by the increased quantities made, afforded to the tillage of Ireland.

The most munificent encouragement that could be given to the agriculture of Ireland, in the ways here proposed, would certainly not require three millions of the public money. And the effect of that encouragement would certainly be, to enable Ireland not only to fill the actual void in the British corn-market; but to sell, besides, to other countries, a vast portion of the surplus produce of her land.

In the event of that void being filled up, at such prices as would secure to the British and Irish farmers, their present gains, the interests of both, and those of the landlords of Britain and Ireland, would require that the remaining part of the surplus produce of the latter, should be diverted to other markets. For this purpose, augmented bounties on exportation would perhaps be necessary; such bounties, at least, as would serve to bring Irish corn into foreign markets, at the selling price therein; and without a diminution of ordinary profit to the Irish farmers. The corn intercourse bill and the high prices of grain in Britain actually supersede the necessity of bounties. But if ever the surplus produce of the tillage land of Ireland should be rendered more than adequate to the supply of Britain, ample export bounties, to other countries, must be resorted to.

The export bounties of 1783-4, though great and efficacious, in comparison of those which preceded them, were, in reality, inferior to the bounties which occasioned such an active pursuit of tillage, in England, about the middle of the last century. In the year 1689, when these last bounties became attainable, the value of money, according to Sir G. Shuckburgh Evelyn's table*, was in the ratio of 226 to 562 in the year 1800; and consequently 1*l.*, in the former year, was equivalent in effect to 2*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* in the latter.

These bounties, therefore, though nominally the same as the Irish bounties, were calculated to give a greater benefit to the corn merchant, and ultimately greater encouragement to the grower of the corn. But there is another way in which they may be shewn to have had these effects. The price of the best, or highest priced wheat, at Windsor market, on an average of five years,

* Chalmers's Estimate, p. 223.

ended in 1691, was 1l. 19s. 11d. per quarter of nine bushels*. On an average of 13 years ended in 1700, a period which included some years of comparative scarcity, it was 2l. 12s. 3d. The medium of these periods being 2l. 6s. 1d., was nearly the same as 1l. 3s. 0½d. for the Irish barrel of 20 stones weight. The price of middling wheat according to an average of five years ended with 1689, as stated by Mr. Chalmers, was 1l. 8s. 9d. per statute quarter †. The middle price of wheat, in Dublin market, (which, by the way, was well supplied in consequence of the bounties on the inland carriage of corn.) taken at eighteen different periods, in the years 1783-4-5-6, was 1l. 5s. 0d. per barrel : which was also the average price of 15 years ended in 1773, as before noticed. Or, to suit the comparison more to the Irish reader, the middle price of wheat in England, when the bounties took place, was, agreeable to Mr. Chalmers's statement, about 10½d. per stone ; and the middle price in Ireland 1s. 3d. The English merchant therefore could buy corn for exportation at the rate of 7s. 11d. the Irish barrel, cheaper than the Irish merchant. On every 100l. expended in the purchase of corn, the former had about 17l. 7s. 6d. arising from the bounty ; but the latter had only 13l. 6s. 8d. or 4l. 0s. 10d. per cent less. Besides the English merchant could export, with the benefit of the bounty, when wheat was at 48 shillings the quarter, or about 1s. 5½d. the stone ; but the Irish merchant was restrained from exporting, when wheat exceeded 27 shillings the barrel, or about 1s. 4½d. the stone. To increase the Irish bounties then about one-third ; and to grant these bounties until wheat exceeded the price of 30 shillings the barrel and the other grains in proportion, seems sufficiently warranted by precedent, and would be productive of increased benefit. Indeed granting this bounty when the prices of the different sorts of grain were even much higher, would probably not be followed by any bad effects ; as the merchant's profits are inversely proportioned to the price of grain, and grain is not, in general, nor, in any considerable degree, the great necessary of life among the labouring poor of Ireland.

If the export of bounties were increased somewhat less than one-third, beyond those of 1783-4 ; if they were to be 3s. per barrel, on wheat,

* From Dr. Adam Smith's Tables, vol. i. p. 265.

† Est: p. 323.

barley,

barley, and oats, on an average, instead of 2s. 1½d ; and if these bounties were given when wheat did not exceed 35 shillings the barrel, and the other grains in proportion ; and if, in consequence of an extension and improvement of tillage, the exportable surplus of corn, beyond the demands of Britain, were to amount to 1,500,000 barrels of the different sorts of grain, the whole amount of the annual bounty would be but 225,000l. ; which is considerably less than three times the amount of the bounty paid on the carriage of corn to Dublin in the year 1797* ; and not much exceeding one-fourth more than the bounty annually paid, in England, on the corn exported during ten years ended in 1750. And when it is considered that this sum thus expended, besides its other good effects, would occasion an annual addition to the pecuniary ability of Ireland amounting probably to near two millions sterling ; and at the same time insure to one-half of the tillage farmers their present gains, amounting also to at least two millions ; it will surely, notwithstanding its magnitude, be deemed consonant to the strictest principles of economy.

Holding forth extraordinary encouragement to tillage might possibly have the effect of diminishing the pasture land actually appropriated to the fattening of cattle, and ultimately that of reducing the surplus produce of beef now exported. But whatever effect it might have in that way would probably be counterbalanced by an increased exportation of pork and butter. The pork is furnished by those who are concerned in tillage ; and as the number of the latter increases, so does the exportation of the former. Most of the inferior farmers keep a cow or cows ; and almost all of those who do so, send their butter to market. An increase of tillage farmers, therefore, will not occasion a decrease, but may occasion an increase of the quantity of butter exported. The table No. VI. in the Appendix shews that, in the period of four years ended in 1784, when the corn bounties were granted, the number of barrels of pork annually exported was 89,118 : but that the medium number exported, during the last two years, was 141,332 : that the number of fitches of bacon exported, on an average of three years ended in 1785, was 25,025, and the number of cwts. of hams 4,306 : but that the number of the former, on a medium of the two last years, was 262,446, and of the latter 16,023.

* See Table marked V. in the Appendix.

The table likewise shews that the average quantity of butter exported, in the period of 1784, was 251,542 cwts.; but that the medium quantity exported, during the last two years, was 336,253 cwts. The quantity of beef exported has been reduced; but the number of live cattle exported has been increased so as to be exactly equivalent to the decrease of beef.

A great augmentation of the capital of farmers has generally the effect of occasioning a ruinous and depopulating consolidation of farms; which, however, has its advocates. But in Ireland, no such effect is to be apprehended. The capitals of farmers have of late been annually increasing greatly; yet the size of farms has annually been diminishing.

Owing to that avidity for land which prevails among the rural inhabitants of Ireland, and which arises partly, but chiefly, from the almost universal, and indeed economical custom of drawing their supplies of food immediately from the land instead of the market, and partly from the disproportion of the manufactures of Ireland to the rapid increase of its people, the landlords' rents have been so high * as not to admit of that rapid increase of capital which, under such an influx of money to farmers, would take place in other countries. It is true that the frugal mode of living which obtains among the Irish farmers, countervails, in a great degree, these high rents; but not sufficiently so to occasion such a redundancy of capital as might enable one man to undertake the business of twenty, as in Norfolk and elsewhere.

To sum up what has been said in this section; the benefits derivable from an extensive and skilful pursuit of agriculture in Ireland, seasonably encouraged, are great; attainable without difficulty, not limited to Ireland alone, but participable by England; and apparently unconnected with any mischievous result.

* See Tables marked XIX. XX. XXI. XXII. in the Appendix. "Should potatoes," says Adam Smith, "ever become the favourite food of the poor, population would increase, and rents would rise much beyond what they are at present." W. N. vol. i. p. 164.

SECTION VIII.

Political Effects of encouraging Agriculture in Ireland.—Probability of permanent Concord between the Protestants and Roman Catholics.—Conclusion.

IT was observed, in a former section *, that the rural population in the principal tillage counties of Ireland, is chiefly Roman Catholic ; and that the late encouragement of that pursuit had greatly increased both the amount and wealth of that population. The varied encouragement just proposed, and which the circumstances of Britain and Ireland seem to require, will necessarily, if held forth, have the effect of occasioning a much greater accession of wealth, and increase of number to the Roman Catholic body, than it has yet experienced ; and eventually that of giving it much more importance, in the political scale of the empire, than it at present enjoys. But, whatever may be thought by those who have declined to take a comprehensive view of the subject, this accession of wealth, at least, be its effects as they may, is much more to be wished for, than deprecated. For besides being necessarily accompanied by a proportionate accession of wealth to the Protestant landlords, the Protestant clergy, and the government, it is eminently calculated to insure that tranquillity and harmony in Ireland, which every man, but one who has a propensity to fish in troubled waters, must desire ; and which is so obviously requisite to the strength of the empire.

“ The progressive state,” says Adam Smith, “ is in reality the cheerful and the hearty state to all the different orders of the society. The stationary is dull, the declining melancholy †.” And it might be added dangerous, if a great majority of the community be principally involved therein : for as Sallust observes, “ Semper in civitate quibus opes nullæ sunt bonis invident, malos extollant ; vetera odere, nova exoptant ; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student.”

* Part III. Section 4.

† Vol. i. p. 2.

To favour the continuance of the Roman Catholics of Ireland in the first of these states, is an object which, in the writer's opinion, should be kept perpetually in view. And there can scarcely be a better, and in all respects, a more satisfactory expedient for attaining that object, than a liberal encouragement of agriculture. The labourer whose wages are daily rising; the farmer whose profits are daily augmenting; the mechanic whose employment is daily extending; and the Roman Catholic clergyman whose revenue is daily increasing, in proportion to the increasing wealth of his flock, must necessarily be in general adverse to those convulsions which are calculated to impair their respective conditions*.

As for the Roman Catholic clergy, a munificent and efficient encouragement of agriculture, necessarily pregnant with a vast augmentation of their revenues, would probably render them more satisfied with their conditions than the greatest salaries which it was ever proposed to grant them from the public purse†. Salaries, merely equivalent to their present revenues, would amount, in the whole, to at least 100,000l. a year. But two millions sterling, a sum which might be borrowed for less than 100,000l. a year, being expended in the encouragement of agriculture, would unquestionably have the ultimate effect of nearly doubling their revenues, besides all the other good effects reasonably expected from such an expen-

* In the course of last summer, 1807, the writer asked an intelligent gentleman of the Roman Catholic religion, whether it was in contemplation to renew the petition of that body to parliament. The gentleman said he had no doubt that the Roman Catholics of Dublin would do so; and that their example would be followed in other great towns; but that as for the Roman Catholics, in general, he was convinced that they were too deeply engaged in oats and butter, in barley and pork, to think about Catholic emancipation; and that if they were not wantonly irritated, they would be quiet enough.

† To the minister who would inconsiderately provoke them, one might well say, in the words of the epigram on the Regent Duke of Orleans,

Pauvre sot que vous etes
Laissez paître vos betes.

‡ Many of the Roman Catholic clergy would, no doubt, be gratified by having their revenues augmented by salaries from government; but it is, by no means, certain that a disposition to accept such salaries prevails among them; and it might be questioned, whether the loss of influence over their flocks, which might be occasioned by subsidizing them, would not, upon the whole, be more detrimental, than beneficial. See a letter marked XXIX. in the Appendix.

dité. The improvement in the pecuniary condition of the Roman Catholic clergy, since the agriculture of Ireland was liberally encouraged, has been visibly great.

Engaged in industrious pursuits, experimentally found conducive to a progressive melioration of their circumstances, the Roman Catholics, not only individually, but as a collective political body, must, if their interest be well understood by them, earnestly deprecate all interruptions of the public tranquillity. To persevere in lucrative industry, and to discourage all projects inconsistent with internal peace, must demonstrably promote their political interest, in a signal manner. The yearly accession of wealth and numbers which, under such circumstances, the Roman Catholic body cannot fail to experience, would speedily increase its weight, in the political scale, to such a degree, as to render an opposition to its just claims as unlikely as the refusal of a tottering minister to bestow the place of an exciseman on a country gentleman who could influence two hundred voters. Successive additions to the wealth and numeral force of that body are unquestionably equivalent, or more than equivalent, in effect, to successive victories. Every succeeding year of internal peace, necessarily accompanied by increasing religious harmony, must, moreover, with augmented efficacy, weaken the still subsisting alienation of the Roman Catholics and Protestants from each other; and draw them closer together by the various ties of social life. Indeed it might reasonably be expected, that before the lapse of many years of concord, the latter would not only decline all further opposition to the claims of the former; but discourage such opposition in every quarter. The declarations of the Protestants, on a late occasion, abundantly warrant the expectation. If the Roman Catholics continue a few years longer in a progressively thriving condition; if they be not unfortunately hurried out of the right course, by the diversified artifices of insidious men, which in such case, is of all others the most unlikely event; they must finally, without bloodshed, without disturbance, without loss, without danger, without apprehension, in the midst of opulence, and in amity with their Protestant fellow subjects, attain that equitable participation of political power, to which they have an indisputable right to aspire.

The change in the condition of the Roman Catholics, which the extension of agriculture in Ireland, and the increasing profits accruing from that

that pursuit, have occasioned, and will probably enlarge, is, as before noticed, one of those great national circumstances which ordinarily baffle the counteracting ingenuity and force of man, and produce their natural effects in due season *. The growing importance of that body, arising from this pursuit, is so closely interwoven with the increasing welfare of various other descriptions of people, in the Irish and British communities, that the former cannot possibly be repressed, without obstructing the latter; and it is by no means to be supposed that any administration, it matters not on what principles it may be formed, will exhibit such an evidence of political fatuity as to do so. May it not rather be presumed that, with a view to the wealth and strength of the empire, His Majesty's ministers will amplify and confirm the means of the future advancement of the Roman Catholics; thus gradually prepare them for having their just claims acceded to, in accordance with the joint wishes of all the more respectable Protestants in Ireland; and thus wisely and seasonably wrest their cause from all those who are likely to advocate it on mere principles of faction?

As to the revival of enmity, between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, there exists but little ground for apprehending that any future minister will attempt it. The sister kingdoms are now united. No momentous object remains to be attained by exciting that enmity; and it is not to be presumed, that any minister will resort to so hazardous an expedient, for the purpose of attaining an object of a questionably important nature. It is not to be apprehended that any future minister will keep Ireland in a dangerous state of ferment, in order to stifle the just complaints of the Irish people. Every future minister will probably be sufficiently impressed with these obvious truths; that whatever benefit may be extended to Ireland, will ultimately prove beneficial to Britain also; that the wealth acquired in the former, will, in various ways, spread through the latter; that from Ireland, in a state of tranquillity and prosperity, immense

* "Sudden changes," says Vattel, "strike the imaginations of men: we write histories of them; and unfold their causes: but we neglect the changes that insensibly happen, by a long train of steps that are but little observed." *Law of Nations*, p. 29.

supplies of men and money may be drawn ; but that Ireland, in a state of disturbance, would demand immense supplies of both ; and, by so doing, exhaust or diminish those resources which the existence of the empire might require. Indeed the necessity of allaying jealousy and enmity, between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, appears already to have some influence on the conduct of government : for, under all changes of administration, symptoms of a spirit of impartiality and conciliation are discoverable.

But should any minister rashly recur to measures calculated to revive or strengthen the animosities of the Irish, there is sufficient reason to expect that he will fail to succeed. Those considerations which unhappily lost their force, during the season of rebellion, have again begun to operate ; and are likely to operate hereafter with unusual efficacy.

The great national benefits, enjoyed alike by Protestants and Roman Catholics, and obtained during the short interval of their cordial union ; the great national benefits which may yet be expected to result from the re-establishment and maintenance of that union ; the great national injuries, felt alike by Protestants and Roman Catholics, during the long and late season of their disunion and mutual alienation ; and the great national injuries which may be apprehended from a perpetuation of discord *, have been so generally admitted and acknowledged ; and the opposite effects, produced by the different events of the last 30 years, have made such a deep impression, on the public mind, in Ireland ; that any system of measures depending for its efficacy, on the operation of principles of dissension among the Irish, will, in all probability, not only totally fail of success ; but, in the end, involve the projectors and abettors in perplexities of no ordinary magnitude.

Nations, like individuals, grow wise by experience ; and surely no nation under the canopy of heaven had ever yet such ample experience of the inutility and calamitous effects of religious enmity as Ireland. The Pro-

* When Cyrus divided the Euphrates into 800 rivulets, a child might ford the largest of them. His favourite was drowned in attempting to cross the united waters.

testants and Roman Catholics have been engaged in a series of murderous conflicts for two hundred years. In seeking to gratify their damnable desires of exterminating each other, they impoverished, paralysed, and brutalised their country; and, after all, each party is infinitely farther from obtaining its object than when the sword was first drawn. It has at length become utterly impossible for either to extinguish, or even crush the other. To suppose them capable of pursuing, or of universally recurring, on every emergency, to projects and practices which they and their remote ancestors have, by accumulated experiments, found to be completely inefficacious, and in the highest degree detrimental, is to entertain a very unfavourable, and a very unfair opinion of their heads and hearts.

The landlords of Ireland, the Protestant clergy, the Roman Catholic clergy, every man who is thriving, or has a prospect of thriving, must, after a moment's reflection, feel deeply interested in the perpetuation of religious harmony.

Moreover every individual Irishman, considered merely as a member of society, without reference to his particular profession or pursuit, must, if he advert to the mischiefs of religious enmity, earnestly deprecate its continuance. Under the fatal influence of this species of insanity, it is notorious that those relative duties, the discharge whereof conduces to render social life preferable to solitude, are frequently disregarded altogether; generally performed in a reluctant and imperfect manner; and very seldom with that alacrity, cordiality and precision, which confessedly have the effect of converting a duty into a favour; and ultimately that of strengthening the bonds of amity between man and man. It evidently heightens the various vexations necessarily incident to human intercourse. It occasions distrust among those who are constrained to associate together. It aggravates malice. In many instances it completely blasts domestic happiness. It frequently precludes a reciprocity of kindness between neighbours. It generally proves a cause of unfriendly reservedness. It is often accompanied with disgusting dissimulation, alienating partiality, and even shameful injustice. It serves to excite all the malevolent, and to repress, or limit in their operation, all the benevolent affections of human nature. It is manifestly inconsistent with a performance of Christian duties; and those who act under its sway, are, indisputably, so far, practice

practical apostates from Christ, whose inestimable precepts and divine example did equally and uniformly tend to promote, among mankind, forbearance, gentleness and universal love. Viewed in all its various effects in public, and in private life, it may warrantably be pronounced a moral curse of unequalled magnitude.

It is besides so thoroughly incompatible with the more conspicuous native qualities of the Irish general character, and the prevailing natural propensities of Irishmen, that if we adverted to this consideration alone, we could scarcely apprehend its surviving the present generation ; now that the concurrent agency of those principles of reciprocal animosity, which were artificially connected with the Protestant and Roman Catholic religions, has ceased. The constituent qualities of the Irish character, have confessedly, upon the whole, a much stronger and more direct tendency to promote amity and concord, than to eternize enmity and discord : to augment, than to diminish the happiness of social life. Austerity, inflexibility, moroseness, despondency, and a propensity to brood over imaginary mischiefs, and remote problematical dangers, are certainly not the distinguishing features of the general character of the Irish. On the contrary, that character, though by no means free from very considerable blemishes, obviously presents a rare assemblage of the most attractive, conciliatory, and generous qualities. The frankness, the affability, the vivacity, the good humour, the flexibility, the sympathy, the cordiality and the sincerity of the Irish are generally known and admired. They are not by nature disposed to permanent mutual animosity or repulsion ; but by nature impelled to friendship and conviviality ; and by nature eminently qualified to impart and enjoy the utmost degree of social happiness. Such qualities and such propensities are obviously calculated to accelerate the extinction of religious enmity. In fact, the Irish begin to grow weary of it ; and perhaps it may not be too sanguine to expect that, ere long, the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland, yielding to the impulse of nature, will live as amicably together as Protestants and Roman Catholics are found to do in other European countries, and in the United States of America ; that they will unreservedly exercise, among each other, the peculiarly sociable and endearing qualities of Irishmen ; and wisely leave to idle and opinionated polemicks, the unprofitable and thankless task of shewing whether the holy scriptures have been less tortured in forming the speculative
articles

articles of the church of Rome, those of its next a kin, as the Presbyterians denominate the church of England, or those of the Kirk.

But independently of the foregoing considerations, which, however, can scarcely fail to operate with effect, it might reasonably be expected that a perception of the unjustifiableness and folly of religious enmity and distrust, a perception which must daily become more general, now that the minds of Irishmen are more at liberty than formerly to extend themselves beyond mere party pursuits, would insure the extinction of these pregnant evils. The religious belief of a man is certainly as involuntary as his moral and political opinions, his tastes, habits, and pursuits. Like these it is the result of mere accident. Like these, it is originated by the qualities of his mental faculties, his early education, his later studies, and his intercourse with others. By associating with persons of correct or barbarous tastes, the taste of an individual will be imperceptibly assimilated to theirs. By incidental reflection, he may be led to change his habits or pursuits; and by study and converse, be induced to adopt moral, political, or religious opinions different from those which he before entertained. But it is evident, that all these changes alike are primarily produced by accidental circumstances, which the individual himself could neither foresee nor prevent; and to hate a man for that which he is plainly unaccountable, is certainly not defensible on principles of reason or justice. Every one is aware of the unreasonableness of hating a man on account of the state of his health. The health of a man, however, is often much more in his power than his belief. And here it may be truly observed; by the way, that probably not one in ten thousand of the Roman Catholics and Protestants has taken the trouble to examine maturely, and compare the different arguments which have been used in support of, and in opposition to their respective tenets; and that not one in twenty of them knows precisely what constitutes the difference of their religions. So that, in fact, the enmity of a vast majority of each religion is not even the issue of dispute; but merely a traditionary emotion operating with inconsiderate people. Something, indeed, may be urged to justify our hatred of a man on account of his moral or political opinions; inasmuch as many of these may lead to practical effects whereby we may be injured. But it is manifestly otherwise with regard to opinions on speculative articles of religion; or on religious observances noways connected with the business of
social

social life ; and yet we have absurdly suffered ourselves to be much more irritated by the latter, which are naturally sterile and harmless ; than by the former, which are often the reverse. There surely does not exist any just or plausible reason for hatred, between the man who believes that flour and water may be converted into flesh and blood, and the man who believes that no such miracle can be nowadays wrought ; nor between the man who regards with veneration an old bone, and the man who would turn it into a pick-tooth case, if fit for the purpose ; nor yet between the man who fasts, or thinks he fasts on turbot, salmon, pine-apples, nectarines, madeira and claret, and the man to whose notions of feasting, that regimen is much more correspondent than to his notions of fasting. Cato, Atticus, and Cicero, lived on terms of the strictest intimacy and friendship with each other ; yet Cato was a stoick, Atticus an epicurean, and Cicero an academick : sects whereof the tenets were infinitely more opposite than those of Protestants and Roman Catholics are. And surely Christians ought to be ashamed of being surpassed, by heathens, in the practice of Christian virtues.

To repose confidence in a person whose religious rites are the same as our own, in preference to one whose are not, is a specimen of bigotry utterly unbecoming a rational man *. Using or not using holy water, believing or not believing in the necessity of extreme unction, praying or not praying in Latin, employing or not employing a little image to excite a spirit of devotion ; in short, the observance or rejection of any trifling religious practice, whimsy, or ceremony, being just as fallacious evidences of the possession or privation of truth, honour and sincerity, the essential qualities of a friend, as wearing or not wearing a wig. Surely it is bigotry pushed to the last degree of infatuation to inquire rather about the creeds, than the moral qualities of those with whom we associate : surely it is folly in the extreme, to regard in a serious light such things as can evidently neither injure nor serve us, and, at

* From this fatuity the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland seem to be exempt ; some of them, during the rebellion, having, to the writer's knowledge, deposited what little money they had by them in the hands of neighbouring Protestant gentlemen, on whose scrupulous honour, though hereticks, they had the firmest reliance.

the same time, to look upon others as secondary considerations, which, in a greater or less degree, must.

But, say the Protestants, it is not on account of their religious rites, conceits or superstitions that we are alienated from the Roman Catholics; but on account of their uncharitable practical tenets. The Roman Catholics maintain, that all, but those who belong to their communion, must be damned in the world to come; and therefore esteem it meritorious to punish them in this. If such opinion, however, admitting that they hold it, prove in reality harmless, it is just as exceptionable a ground for alienation as any speculative opinion whatever. The number of reflecting conscientious Roman Catholic *Christians* is, we trust, and doubt not, daily increasing: and Protestants are by no means warranted in suspecting that such Christians adopt the practical inference falsely deduced from this opinion. On the contrary, it might reasonably be expected that, if impressed with a belief that Protestants must be eternally miserable in the life to come, such Christians would feel it incumbent on them rather to promote their happiness in this, than to superadd temporal to eternal misery; seeing that everlasting damnation is punishment enough for an unfortunate accidental inability to believe the doctrine of transubstantiation: and adverting to what they daily perceive, that the Almighty Creator of the universe mercifully bears with us all alike, reserving, till the day of judgment, those rewards and punishments which each shall be found to have deserved. As for the doltish rabble, it matters very little what they think; for it may safely be relied on that, not only at present, but under all changes, the laws will be as effectually employed to restrain their outrages in this, as in any other instance.

The Roman Catholics are likewise, say the Protestants, chargeable with maintaining that faith is not to be kept with heretics. The declaration, however, of the foreign Roman Catholic Universities * amounts to a complete

* The three following questions were sent in the year 1792, to the Universities of Paris, Louvain, Douay, Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcalá: Has the Pope, or have the Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the church of Rome, any civil authority, power or jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever within the realm of England? Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense His Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext

plete refutation of that charge; which, moreover, there do not appear to have been sufficient grounds for urging. The Roman Catholics have certainly not been found guilty of more, or greater breaches of faith, when concerned with Protestants, than when concerned with each other; nor, to speak with becoming candour, than Protestants themselves, when concerned with Roman Catholics. It seemed, therefore, very likely either that the Roman Catholic clergy took no pains to give this tenet influence over the minds of the laity; or that their labour was, generally speaking, in vain. Indeed in a country, circumstanced as Ireland, with respect to religions, the ordinary business of life would not admit of conduct conformable to such a treacherous principle as this; which, if it were inculcated and cherished, must operate on all trivial, as well as momentous occasions. A majority of the people, of all religions, are ready enough to violate the commandment of God, respecting the sabbath, whenever business, or even pleasure prompts them to do so; and there neither is, nor was sufficient reason to suspect the Roman Catholics of being more scrupulous with regard to the observance of this highly inconvenient tenet, inculcated, by man, if indeed it ever was.

As for the words, *hereticos, schismaticos & rebelles, pro posse, perseguar & impugnabo*, in the consecration oath of the Roman Catholic Bishops, and which have been employed to alarm the Protestants, they are probably not considered, by those who repeat them, to be of so violent an import as they have been supposed to be, by some zealous opponents of popery. The word *persequar* is certainly somewhat ambiguous. Besides, it is to be observed, that this oath was framed in times characteristically different from the present; in times, when the clergy of the church of Rome could safely persist in that conduct, towards those who rejected their doctrines, which they no longer can, in almost any instance, without danger, pursue; in

whatsoever? Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or private nature? The answer was, that the Pope or Papal authority had no where any such power; and there was no tenet in the Catholic church by which Catholics were justified in not keeping faith with Protestants. The Irish Roman Catholic committee maintained the same; and the declaration was signed by delegates from all parts of Ireland.

times, when that spirit of perfecution, which is now so universally and so justly decried and condemned, was generally deemed meretorius: that what was expected then, is neither expected, nor desired now: that the essence of the crime of perjury is deceit, pregnant with greater or less evil to others; but that if no expectation be entertained of an adherence to this clause of the oath, no deceit is practised by declining to observe it.

At all events, it may reasonably be expected that the welfare of their people, a primary consideration, and which both duty and interest require them to keep perpetually in view, will always prompt the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland to avail themselves of that liberty of acting which the words, "*pro posse*" certainly involve.

The present Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland stand, confessedly, distinguished, for the most part, by high and correct notions of their duty to God and man; by an ardent ambition to imitate the example of our blessed Saviour; and by a laudable solicitude to exalt their religion in the esteem of men. They are pious, enlightened, patriotic, and zealous for the maintenance of good order and internal peace*. And therefore, can, on no good ground, be suspected of acting, in any case, in conformity with principles of perfecution. In fact, the age of wild fanaticism, foolish bigotry and tyrannic intolerance has passed away.

But suppose the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, unrestrained by the existing laws of the land, were disposed to resort to the dangerous, unchristian-like and notoriously inefficacious expedient of perfecution, in order to establish an uniformity of religious opinions, instead of endeavouring, as they do, to render their religion attractive by their examples and instructions. What then? Such disposition can certainly never be productive of mischief, unless aided by the arms of the laity. And there positively is not sufficient reason to apprehend, whatever may

* The disinclination, which the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland are said to have lately manifested, to any alteration in the mode of filling their vacant sees, will not, it is hoped, be precipitately urged as an evidence of principles tending to disloyalty. Perhaps there may be a little clerical coquetry in the business. Perhaps they may be restrained by formal respect for the head of their church from *consenting* to the alteration in question, But it does not follow from thence that they would not quickly *acquiesce* in a *decision* of the Legislature.

be the case with a few priest-ridden individuals, or with the befotted rabble, in a few districts where Protestant tyranny has been habitually exercised, that the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland, collectively, or the leading persons thereof, will ever second their clergy in a system of persecution, confessedly unfashioned by the gospel, and whereof the real objects can be no other than the increase or preservation of the power and wealth of the church: acquisitions, which, in their excess, are demonstrably pregnant with injury to religion. Though, on the one hand, the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland may always be found laudably submissive to their clergy in spiritual affairs; it is, on the other hand, very far from being probable that the former will ever yield to the dictation of the latter with respect to measures of a temporal nature.

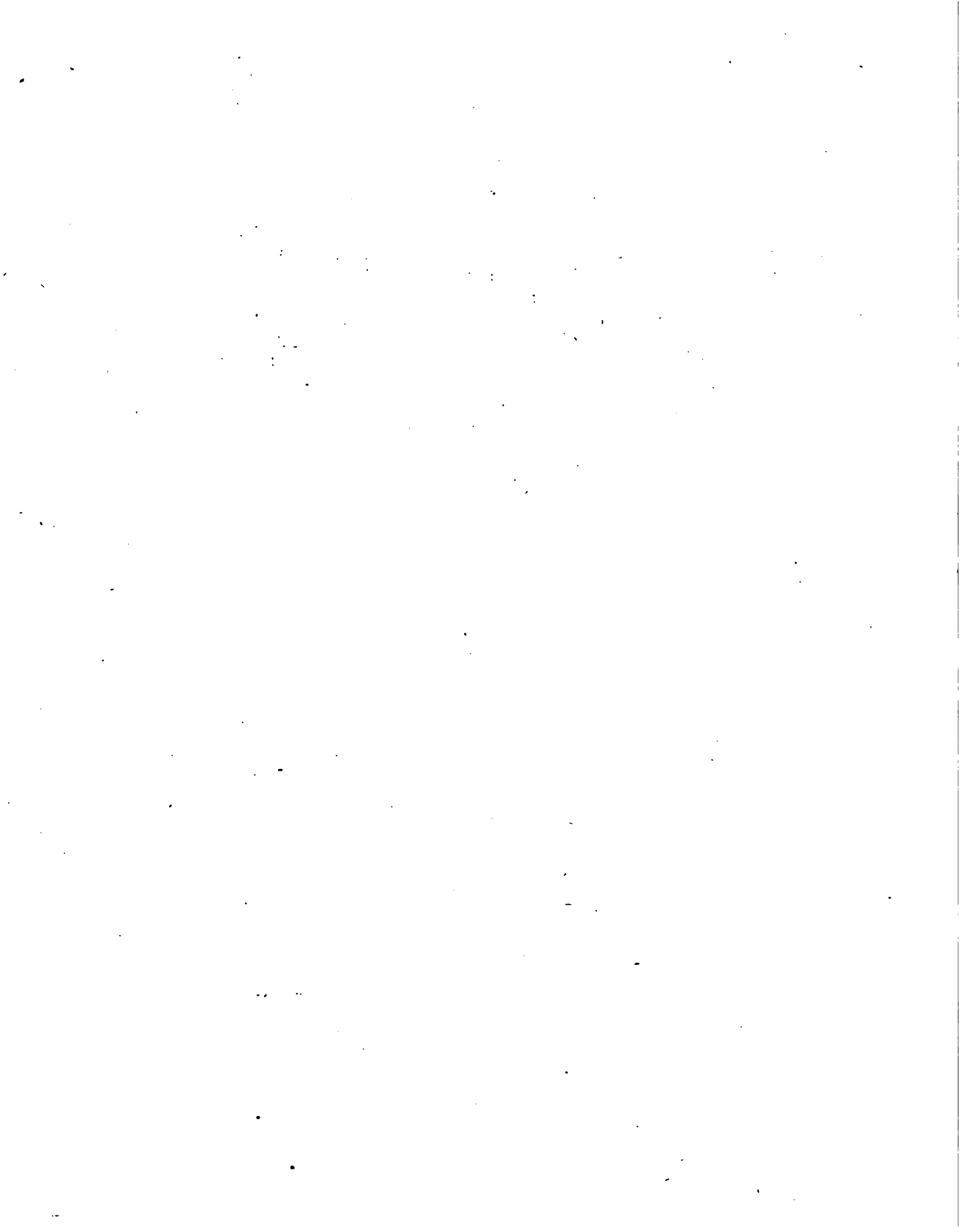
No Irishman, capable of due reflection, can fail to be sufficiently impressed with this most important truth, that an internal war in Ireland, on the ground of religion, is of all calamitous events the most to be deprecated. Such a war would unavoidably occasion the fiercest conflicts, attended by diversified misery, in almost every part of Ireland. It would necessarily be long of doubtful issue; the Roman Catholics and Protestants being, upon the whole, in point of strength, equally balanced.

To subdue and exterminate one million of Irish Protestants, aided by Protestant Britain, is as manifestly beyond the power of four millions of Irish Roman Catholics, as it certainly is beyond the power of the former to subdue and exterminate the latter. And whatever might be the final issue of the contest, the few who survived it would probably not survive the extensive devastation which it would inevitably occasion.

Ne pueri, ne tanta animis affuecite bella,
Neu patriæ validas in viscera vertite vires.

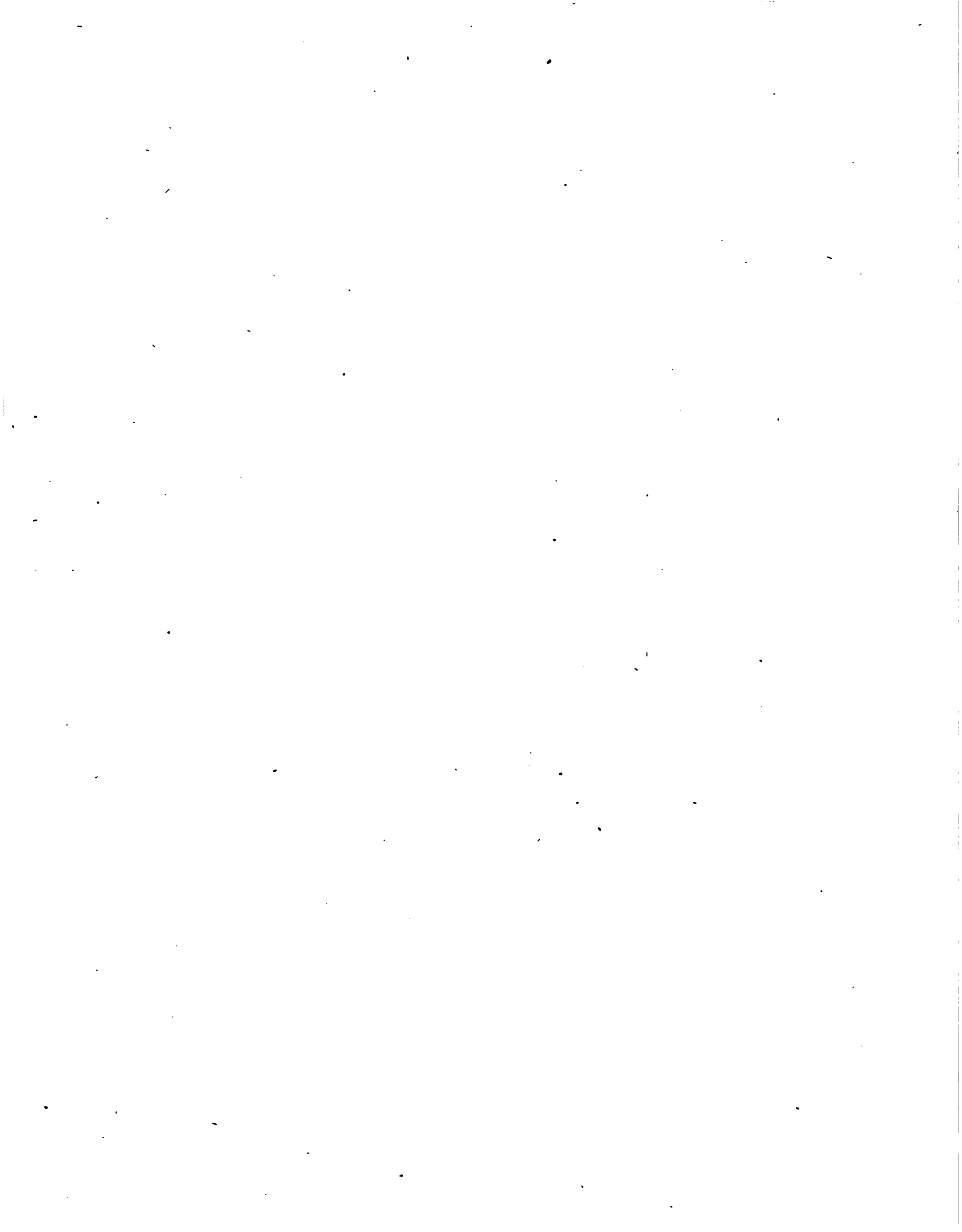
Conclusion.—Should the various facts, events and considerations which have been briefly presented to the view, or recalled to the recollection of the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland, in the course of the foregoing pages, operate, as seems natural, in extinguishing that religious enmity, which has hitherto been the primary cause of the internal disquietude, the national debility and political degradation of their country: and should the Legislature of the United Kingdom, sensible of the vast real value

value of Ireland, continue to act under a salutary solicitude for the maintenance of tranquillity, and the extension of a spirit of industry therein ; and wisely endeavour to raise, enrich and strengthen, instead of endeavouring, as the British Legislature formerly did, to depress, impoverish and paralyse that important part of the empire, there appears to exist the most ample ground for expecting, that, endowed by nature, beyond almost any other country in Europe, and abounding in people, it will ere long (to recur to the assertion of the sagacious Sir William Temple) “make a mighty addition of strength and revenue to the crown of England.”



APPENDIX.

[A]



No. I.

TABLE, shewing the Quantities of BARLEY and MALT, OATS, WHEAT, OATMEAL, WHEATMEAL, and FLOUR, exported from IRELAND, since the Commencement of the last Century, in Periods of four Years.							
Four Years.	Barley and Malt.	Oats.	Wheat.	Oatmeal.	Wheatmeal.	Flour.	Acts regulating Weights and Measures.
Ending Dec. 25.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	
1704	16,317	6,937	7,106	37,707	674	-	- -
3½ to Mar. 25.							
1708	38,378	5,636	16,480	42,834	3,268	-	- -
4 25th March							
1712	101,420	4,879	66,705	50,427	10,493	-	6 A. c. 18. (a)
1716	172,345	23,439	138,540	66,100	7,577	-	- -
1720	91,719	39,277	7,656	53,788	1,504	-	- -
1724	101,500	35,103	2,351	66,242	1,140	-	- -
1728	81,723	20,416	6,225	43,122	945	-	- -
1732	158,668	32,636	1,833	15,452	242	-	- -
1736	165,380	4,440	234	3,632	146	-	7 G. 2. c. 15. (b)
1740	233,366	7,778	1,971	3,075	160	-	- -
1744	80,213	6,288	5,249	18,128	1,787	-	- -
1748	35,282	3,057	6,955	12,306	1,008	-	- -
1752	54,466	5,869	4,706	9,637	290	-	- -
1756	9,902	19,343	7	52,503	50	-	25 G. 2. c. 15. (c)
1760	21,461	28,896	3,751	38,951	307	-	- -
1764	17,533	17,788	117	37,762	235	-	- -
1768	29,584	40,377	2,258	69,603	68	-	- -
1772	24,337	74,532	8,145	103,811	5	-	- -
1776	58,642	181,106	17,220	151,159	100	-	13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11. (d)
1780	30,483	278,512	41,232	34,228	1,178	-	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17. (e)
1784	34,527	174,881	83,933	40,011	200	255,736	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. (f)
1788	158,489	618,346	89,888	256,366	32	71,703	- -
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.		
1792	156,562	2,156,944	640,353	443,614	114	346,651	- -
1796	46,959	1,947,254	160,720	195,055	-	45,172	- -
1800	97,333	1,959,120	114,211	312,213	-	26,476	- -
3¼ Jan. 5.							
1804	45,543	866,368	270,838	187,033	-	135,128	- -
Two Years							
1806	47,700	718,934	287,699	101,530	-	44,367	- -
1808	87,249	1,186,047	221,217	90,223	-	43,103	- -
One Year							
1808	68,785	724,347	68,003	46,772	-	6,889	- -
(a) Bushel, or Quarter, containing 8 Bushels.				(d) Quarter of Wheat 32 Stones.			
(b) Quarters of all sorts of Grain to weigh 40 Stones.				(e) English exportation Measures.			
(c) Quarter of Wheat 40 Stones; of Barley 24; of Oats 22.				(f) Barrel of Wheat 20 Stones; of Barley 16; of Oats 14.			

No. II.

TABLE, shewing the Quantities of BARLEY and MALT, OATS, WHEAT, OATMEAL, WHEATMEAL and FLOUR, imported into IRELAND since the Commencement of the last Century, in Periods of four Years.							
Four Years,	Malt.	Corn.		Oatmeal.	Wheatmeal	Flour.	Acts regulating Weights and Measures.
Ending Dec. 25,	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	
1704	1,009	-	5,027	18	71	-	6 A. c. 18.
3½ to Mar. 25,							
1708	65	-	2,391	13	13	-	- -
4 25th March.							
1712	16	-	3,556	29	53	-	- -
* 1716	31	-	3,532	-	375	-	- -
	Barley and Malt.						
1720	567		27,309	1,164	294	-	- -
		Oats.	Wheat.				
1724	47,274	5,416	98,044	59	8,157	-	- -
† 1728	14,065	1,006	43,176	1,282	12,741	-	- -
1732	19,751	650	104,226	12,127	24,344	-	- -
1736	68,915	1,863	115,540	34,520	63,178	-	7 G. 2. c. 15.
1740	29,763	2,437	60,777	29,441	45,263	-	- -
1744	53,175	3,341	52,061	3,360	46,240	-	- -
1748	264,569	23,797	164,904	81,968	5,300	-	- -
1752	201,398	3,670	75,786	20,632	161	-	- -
1756	348,912	1,648	136,938	22,425	-	71,342	25 G. 2. c. 15.
1760	138,225	6,115	118,242	8,725	9	179,694	- -
1764	143,559	203	67,974	9,148	1,254	247,319	- -
1768	125,574	4,547	70,149	1,260	15,473	229,558	- -
1772	118,263	4,660	111,341	28,328	9,467	275,144	- -
1776	15,672	415	17,718	3,096	3,623	88,962	13 & 14 G. 3. c. 11.
1780.	133,200	2,296	17,998	52,241	241	85,723	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17.
1784	166,820	7,684	51,150	13,361	334	142,519	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19.
1788	44,546	782	39,426	2,859	321	110,947	- -
	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.		
1792	2,347	717	1,933	-	-	86	- -
1796	24,622	784	103,563	-	-	11,496	- -
1800	55,243	1,617	19,439	14	10	360	- -
3½ Jan. 5,							
1804	10,980	4,061	74,653	6	† 171,264	98,642	- -
Two Years,							
1806	180,700	30	1,739	250	-	1,394	- -
1808	23,111	3,172	10,356	1,004	-	6,296	- -
One Year							
1808	583	138	9,145	1,004	-	4,003	- -

* The different sorts of Grain are not distinguished in the Custom-house Books before the year ending March 25, 1719.

† Bushels reduced to Quarters till the year ending March 25, 1725.

‡ Indian Meal imported during the year of scarcity in this period.

No. III.

ANNUAL AVERAGE EXCESS OF CORN GROUND AND UNGROUND EXPORTED.				ANNUAL AVERAGE EXCESS OF CORN GROUND AND UN- GROUND IMPORTED.			<i>Acts regulating Weights and Measures.</i>
Four Years,	<i>Corn un- ground.</i>	<i>Meal.</i>	<i>Flour.</i>	<i>Corn un- ground.</i>	<i>Meal.</i>	<i>Flour.</i>	
Ending Dec. 25. 1704	Quarters. 6,081	Barrels. 9,574	Cwts. -	Quarters. -	Barrels. -	Cwts. -	6 A. c. 18.
3½ to Mar. 25. 1708	19,367	15,359	-	-	-	-	
4 25th March. 1712	42,358	15,210	-	-	-	-	
1716	82,691	18,326	-	-	-	-	
1720	27,694	13,459	-	-	-	-	
1724	-	14,791	-	2,945	-	-	
1728	12,530	7,511	-	-	-	-	
1732	17,128	-	-	-	5,195	-	
1736	-	-	-	4,066	23,480	-	7 G. 2. c. 15.
1740	37,537	-	-	-	17,868	-	
1744	-	-	-	4,207	7,422	-	
1748	-	-	-	101,986	18,489	-	
1552	-	-	-	53,953	2,717	-	
1756	-	7,532	-	114,561	-	17,835	25 G. 2. c. 15.
1760	-	7,631	-	52,109	-	44,923	
1664	-	6,899	-	44,075	-	61,829	
1768	-	13,234	-	32,013	-	57,389	
1772	-	16,506	-	31,813	-	68,786	
1776	56,041	36,135	-	-	-	22,240	13 & 14. G. 3. c. 11.
1780	49,183	-	-	-	4,269	21,430	19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17.
1784	16,922	6,629	28,305	-	-	-	23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19.
1788	195,492 Barrels.	63,304 Cwts.	-	-	-	9,811	
1792	737,215	110,932	86,641	-	-	-	-
1796	506,511	48,763	8,419	-	-	-	-
1800	523,594	78,053	6,529	-	-	-	-
3½ Jan. 5. 1804	273,264	3,941	9,122	-	-	-	-
Two Years, 1806	481,482	50,703	21,835	-	-	-	-
1808	728,937	44,609	18,403	-	-	-	-
One Year, 1808	850,769	45,768	2,586	-	-	-	-

TABLE, shewing the Annual Average Excess of CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, exported from and imported Acts under which the Bounties were claimed—and the Acts which imposed Duties on

EXPORT.			IMPORT.			BOUNTY ON EXPORTATION.			
4 Years,	Annual Average Excess of Corn.	Annual Average Excess of Meal and Flour.	Total.	Annual Average Excess of Corn.	Annual Average Excess of Meal and Flour.	Total.	Annual Average Amount of Bounty paid.	Total Amount of Bounty paid	Acts granting Bounties.
Ending Dec. 25.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
1704	10,244	9,573	19,817	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
3½ to Mar. 25.									
1708	32,886	15,359	48,248	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
4 to Mar. 25.									
1712	71,901	15,210	87,111	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	6 A. c. 18.
1716	139,324	18,326	157,650	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1720	47,113	13,459	60,572	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1724	-	14,791	11,170	3,621	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1728	22,127	7,511	29,638	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1732	31,602	-	26,407	-	5,195	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1736	466	-	-	-	23,480	23,014	- - -	- - -	- -
1740	101,670	-	83,802	-	17,868	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1744	-	-	-	4,402	7,422	11,824	- - -	- - -	- -
1748	-	-	-	237,078	18,489	255,567	- - -	48 years, ending	1
1752	-	-	-	100,801	2,717	103,518	- - -	in 1755.	- -
1756	-	-	-	188,799	1,385	190,184	863 18 9	40,487 0 1½	- -
1760	-	-	-	92,082	14,830	106,912	- - -	10 years, ending	29 G. 2. c. 9.
1764	-	-	-	74,280	24,015	98,295	91 9 5½	in 1765.	- -
								913 5 3	- -
1768	-	-	-	55,742	15,460	71,202	- - -	9 years, ending	5 G. 3. c. 19.
1772	-	-	-	59,424	17,887	77,311	213 6 0½	in 1774.	- -
								1,919 14 5	- -
1776	87,268	25,014	112,282	-	-	-	- - -	6 years, ending	13 & 14 G. 3.
1780	71,781	-	56,797	-	14,984	-	4,553 13 8½	in 1780.	c. 11.
								27,322 2 4½	- -
1784	21,131	20,781	41,912	-	-	-	10,211 3 3	4 years, ending	19 & 20 G. 3.
								in 1774.	c. 17.
								48,844 13 0½	- -
1788	390,984	58,391	449,375	-	-	-	36,405 2 9½	4 years, ending	- -
1792	737,215	98,786	836,001	-	-	-	- - -	in 1788.	- -
1796	506,511	28,591	535,102	-	-	-	- - -	145,620 11 3½	23 & 24 G. 3.
1800	523,594	42,291	565,585	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	c. 19.
3½ to Jan. 5.								1 year, ending	- -
1804	273,264	6,531	279,795	-	-	-	- - -	in 1789.	- -
4 to Jan. 5.								59,206 13 2½	- -
1808	582,367	33,784	616,151	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -
1 Year, ending								- - -	- -
Jan. 5.								- - -	- -
1808	850,769	24,327	875,096	-	-	-	- - -	- - -	- -

Notes. No distinction being made in the Custom house books between the barley, wheat and oats, imported before the period ending in 1720, the average of the average weights of their respective quarters is taken, and from thence the number of barrels is deduced. The barley, wheat and oats, exported, being distinguished before as well as after that period, their respective quarters are reduced, as in all the other periods, to the statute barrels of 23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. The quantity of malt exported and imported being very trifling in all the periods, and a barrel thereof, 12 stone, being, with reference to tillage, equiva-

lent to a barrel of barley, 16 stone, the weight of the former has been thrown wholly out of the account. The quantities of the several sorts of grain exported and imported during the quarter, which augments the period ending in 1708 beyond three years, and that which is wanting to complete the period ending in 1804, were not, upon the whole, sufficiently considerable to induce the necessity of departing from an annual average. In consequence of the changes of weight which took place in the middle of the period ending in 1736, and in that of the period ending in 1776, the average of the weights of the periods immediately

IV.

into IRELAND since the year 1700: also the Amount of the Bounties granted on Exportation—the CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, imported, when under certain Prices in the Home Market.

Detail of the Bounties granted by these Acts on the several sorts of Corn exported.		DUTIES ON IMPORTATION.
		Acts imposing Duties on the Importation of Corn.
		15 & 16 G. 3, c. 3. Year 1776.
		On wheat, except British, 2s. the barrel, when not above 23s.— Flour, &c. except British, 1s. the cwt.
6 A. c. 18. Year 1707.	{ On wheat, ground or unground, when at or under 14s. the qr. 1s. 6d. Barley, bere and malt, when at or under 10s. the qr. 1s.	19 & 20 G. 3, c. 17. Year 1780.
		On wheat, except British, 16s. 11 ¹ / ₂ d. British, when not above 53s. 4d. British the qr. British exportation measure. Barley 16s. 11 ¹ / ₂ d., when not above 32s. Oats 5s. 10 ¹ / ₂ d., when not above 16s.
29 G. 2, c. 9. Year 1755.	{ On wheat, ground or unground, not exceeding 24s. the qr. of 40 ft. 2s. Barley and bere, not exceeding 12s. the qr. of 24 ft. 1s. 6d. Malt, not exceeding 12s. the qr. of 20 ft. 1s. 6d. Oats, not exceeding 6s. the qr. of 22 ft. 1s.	23 & 24 G. 3, c. 19. Year 1784.
		On wheat 10s. the barrel, when under 30s. Barley 10s. when under 14s. 6d. Malt 10d. the stone. Oats 5s. the barrel, when under 11s.
5 G. 3, c. 19. Year 1765.	{ On wheat, not exceeding 6s. the cwt. 8d. Barley, not exceeding 3s. 9d. the cwt. 5d. Oats, not exceeding 3s. the cwt. 5d.	25 G. 3, c. 10. Supplementary to the foregoing Acts.
		Wheat-meal 6d. the stone, when wheat subject to 10s. Flour and biscuit 9d. Barley meal 7 ¹ / ₂ d. Oatmeal 5d. when oats subject to 5s.
23 & 14 G. 8. c. 11. Year 1774.	{ On wheat, not exceeding 1s. Brsh. the ft. 3s. 4d. Brsh. the qr. of 32 ft. Meal and flour same bounty. Oats, ground and unground, not exceeding 9s. the qr. of 22 ft. 1s. 3d.	Export prohibited when wheat at 30s. the barrel, barley 14s. 6d. oats or meal 11s.
19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17. Year 1780.	{ On wheat, under 44s. Brsh. the qr. Brsh. exportation measure, 5s. Barley, bere, big and malt, under 22s. do. do. 2s. 6d. Oats, under 14s. do. do. 2s. Oatmeal the qr. of 276 lb.	
23 & 24 G. 3. c. 19. Year 1784.	{ On wheat, not exceeding 27s. the barrel of 20 ft. 3s. 4d. Wheatmeal and malt of wheat the cwt. 1s. 4d. Flour, wheaten bread and biscuit, do. 1s. 11d. Barley, bere and big, not exceeding 13s. 6d. the barrel of 16 ft. 1s. 7d. Malt, the barrel of 12 ft. 2s. Oats, not exceeding 10s. the barrel of 14 ft. 1s. 5d. Oatmeal the cwt. 1s.	

Bounties were also granted by the 1st, 2d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of these acts, on rye exported, and on peas and beans by the 4th and 6th. But the quantities of these articles exported and imported, being so inconsiderable as to render them unworthy of a place in the tables, it is unnecessary to specify these bounties here.

Immediately preceding and succeeding these has been taken. This shows the excess of corn unground to have been on the side of export in the former, instead of being on that of import, as appears in Table, No. 3. Two cwts. of flour, which was always exported and imported by the cwt. are taken as one barrel; as are also, for the most part, two cwts. of meal, the weight of the barrel of meal in the Custom-house books not being clearly ascertained before the 19 & 20 G. 3. c. 17., which required that the quarter of oatmeal

imported or exported should weigh 276 lb. and the barrel impliedly 138 lb. or somewhat more than 9¹/₂ stones. From the period, therefore, ending in 1780, to that ending in 1788, 20 stone of meal are considered as a barrel, there having been a small quantity of wheatsmeal imported and exported during that time. In the period ending in 1788, the quarter in the Custom-house books is considered as constituting 2 statute-barrels.

No. V.

ACCOUNT of the Quantities of GRAIN and FLOUR brought by Land Carriage, Canal, and Coaftways, to DUBLIN; and also the Amount of the Bounties paid.

	LAND CARRIAGE.			CANAL.			COASTWAYS.				
	Grain.	Flour.	Bounty.	ABt.	Grain.	Flour.	Bounty.	Grain.	Flour.	Bounty.	ABt.
1762	Stones.		£	1757	Stones			Cwts.		£.	-
3	1,730,860		4,940	31 G. 2. c. 3.							-
4	1,592,418		5,096								-
5	1,622,933		5,483								-
6	1,409,726		6,660								-
7	1,464,296		9,212								-
8	945,289		6,074	7 G. 3. c. 12.							7 G. 3. c. 4.
9	2,148,805		13,675	Distance from							-
1770	2,608,910		25,225	Dublin short-							-
1	1,920,978		18,706	ened.							-
2	1,641,867		19,290								-
3	3,146,960		39,560								-
4	3,263,199		44,465								-
5	3,553,996		49,674								-
6	3,211,214		53,885								-
7	3,622,076		60,745								-
8	3,240,692		61,786								-
9	3,250,139		71,521								-
1780	2,966,506		67,848								-
1	3,441,246		77,856	19 & 20. G. 3.							-
2	3,210,733		68,272	Bounty reduced							-
3	2,685,992		57,762								-
4	1,251,011		30,241								-
5	901,177		30,962								-
6	961,528		28,905								-
7	1,265,034		40,223								-
8	1,308,180		43,133								-
9	1,169,983		39,155								-
1790	1,108,418		30,220								-
1	1,062,707		32,152								-
2	4,087,182		228,897								-
3	870,080		24,116								-
4	828,583		27,848								-
5	1,179,351		28,027								-
6	1,011,228		35,716								-
7	1,080,391		23,505								-
8	687,780		28,283								-
			29,074								-
			13,545								-

Total amount of Bounty paid in 37 years for inland carriage, £ 1,252,844

Do. 16 do. canal, 278,018

Do. 19 do. coastways, 386,908

Grand Total, £ 1,917,770

Average annual Bounty paid for the supplying of Dublin with corn, £ 51,101 12 5

Number of average barrels brought, 7,791,116 at 3s. 2½d. per barrel.

Do. at 2s. 11½d. per barrel.

Do. at 1s. 8½d.

Difference between land carriage and coastways, 1s. 5½d. per barrel.

1,862,256

4,439,248

TABLE, Shewing the Quantities of BEEF, BUTTER, PORK, and the Number of LIVE CATTLE, exported from Ireland since the Year 1700, in Periods of four years: also the BEEF and PORK exported from the Port of Cork to different Markets, in one Year: and likewise the Number of CATTLE and SHEEP annually exhibited for Sale at the Fair of BALLINASLOE, since the Year 1771, &c.

Four Years,	Live Cattle.		Beef.	Butter.	Pork.	Annual Average Export of Live Cattle.		Annual Average Export of Beef.	Annual Average Export of Butter.	Annual Average Export of Pork.	Provisions exported from Cork, from the 1st of October 1805, to the 1st of September 1806.	
	No.	Barrels.				No.	Barrels.				Cwts.	Barrels.
Ending Dec. 31.	1,976	283,344	308,877	54,909	494	70,833	92,219	13,727	50	100	15	490
1704	137	264,420	445,982	11,395	34	66,105	111,498	2,848	584	70	70	937
31 Mar. 25.	603	342,130	561,060	15,945	150	85,532	140,265	3,986	12	12	2,941	3,421
1712	840	441,153	747,913	32,809	210	110,288	186,978	8,202	80	40	40	24
1716	925	471,865	745,798	31,178	231	117,968	186,449	7,794	1,900	793	982	172
1720	1,506	534,389	589,811	34,300	376	133,597	147,452	8,575	-	26	26	2,106
1724	1,328	540,257	702,996	42,180	307	135,064	175,749	10,545	-	108	108	9
1728	443	580,835	614,909	48,826	110	145,208	153,727	12,206	718	5,323	1,110	1,638
1732	188	595,851	588,487	46,123	47	148,962	147,121	11,530	-	102	300	4,402
1736	59	601,983	644,851	46,563	14	150,495	161,212	11,640	-	108	108	847
1740	514	511,966	617,242	47,282	128	127,991	154,310	11,820	-	102	300	126
1744	95	495,385	806,666	64,371	23	123,846	201,666	16,092	-	11,062	2,868	847
1748	26	705,301	949,380	80,253	6	176,325	237,345	20,063	-	-	-	14,331
1752	116	654,101	825,228	139,641	29	163,525	206,307	20,063	-	-	497	41
1756	4,117	644,941	828,984	148,553	1,029	161,235	207,246	34,910	-	-	108	841
1760	9,577	783,476	950,257	106,405	2,344	195,869	237,564	37,138	-	-	100	75
1764	5,195	773,739	1,134,725	172,552	1,298	193,434	283,681	43,138	-	-	246	20
1768	4,048	815,476	1,105,127	171,218	1,012	203,869	276,281	42,804	-	-	23	269
1772	16,707	798,822	1,079,046	226,521	4,176	199,705	269,786	56,630	-	-	1,033	31
1776	16,712	685,945	994,338	317,163	4,178	171,486	269,786	56,630	-	-	-	327
1780	9,699	684,633	1,000,171	356,474	2,424	171,158	251,542	79,290	-	-	-	10,841
1784	75,430	579,545	1,198,276	346,122	18,857	144,886	299,569	86,530	-	-	-	30,237
1788	95,154	502,910	1,235,293	370,892	23,288	125,727	308,823	92,723	-	-	-	-
1792	21,336	484,423	1,174,045	546,353	5,334	121,105	293,661	136,588	-	-	-	-
1796	78,836	521,921	1,164,165	564,742	19,709	130,480	291,041	141,188	-	-	-	-
1800	106,578	303,189	1,213,766	318,757	26,644	75,797	303,441	79,689	-	-	-	-
31 5th Jan. 1804	37,944	191,204	614,570	192,618	18,972	95,602	307,285	96,309	-	-	-	-
Two Years, 5th Jan. 1806	54,115	230,806	672,506	233,665	27,057	115,403	336,253	141,332	-	-	-	-
1808												

* A Tierce weighs about 320 lb.—a Barrel 2 to lb.

CATTLE AND SHEEP SOLD AND UNFOLD AT THE FAIR OF BALLINASLOE.

One Year,	Hogs.		Hans.	Fitches.	Hogs-lard.	CATTLE.		SHEEP.				
	No.	Cwts.				Cattle.	Years.	Sheep.	Years.	Cattle.	Years.	
Ending Jan. 5.	11,458	2,214	233,874	13,162	1771	10,876	51,950	67,395	1789	11,563	68,717	70,074
1807	17,345	5,834	291,019	18,885	1772	12,603	53,682	70,471	1790	10,776	67,646	77,594
1808					1773	10,233	61,682	68,876	1791	11,570	67,425	75,319
Average of Three Years, Ending March 25.					1774	9,591	66,633	74,635	1792	10,540	68,039	72,579
1785		813	25,025	4,306	1775	10,314	64,924	69,670	1793	10,121	69,385	82,450
1795		840	61,628	5,486	1776	14,110	67,512	67,543	1794	10,179	70,399	76,054
					1777	11,461	76,535	68,108	1795	10,179	73,171	87,417
					1778	12,368	76,482	68,980	1796	10,001	70,292	76,833
					1779	11,428	61,875	70,500	1797	10,001	74,267	87,417

No. VII.

TABLE, Shewing the Quantity of Plain and Coloured LINEN, CAMBRICK and LINEN YARN, exported from Ireland, in different Periods, since the Year 1698: also the Quantity of FLAX-SEED imported, in different Periods, since the Year 1770.

Years,	Plain Linen.	Coloured Linen.	Annual Average of both.	Cambrick.	Linen Yarn.	Annual Average.	Flax-feed.	Annual Average.
Ending Dec. 25.	Pieces.	Yards.	Pieces.	Yards.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Hogheads.	Hogheads.
1698	23,727	-	21,292		8,916	7,388		
1699	18,858				5,861			
1700	12,714				4,506			
1701	9,408		12,870		7,821	6,966		
1702	16,488				8,573			
25th March	Yards.							
1710	1,688,574				7,975			
1711	1,254,815		1,439,833		7,321	7,737		
1712	1,376,122				7,916			
1720	2,637,984				15,002			
1721	2,520,781		2,859,556		14,696	14,817		
1722	3,419,904				14,754			
1730	4,130,203				10,088			
1731	3,775,830		3,901,528		13,746	13,059		
1732	3,792,551				15,343			
1740	6,627,771				18,542			
1741	7,207,741		6,969,893		21,656	18,842		
1742	7,074,168				16,330			
1750	11,200,460			72	22,373			
1751	12,891,318		11,580,493	1,493	23,743	23,141		
1752	10,649,703				23,407			
1760	13,375,456				31,042			
1761	12,048,881		13,661,337	9183	39,699	35,563		
1762	15,559,676				35,950			
1770	20,560,754				33,471		19,432	
1771	25,376,808		22,178,913	1,163	34,166	33,359	45,089	29,583
1772	20,599,178				32,441		24,230	
1780	18,746,902	7,319		21	42,369		19,567	
1781	14,947,265	111,295	19,619,168	404	37,202	35,919	23,640	22,939
1782	24,970,303	74,422			28,187		25,611	
1790	37,322,125	144,008		6,877	31,572		42,588	
1791	39,718,706	116,037	376,63,748	8,475	26,999	25,253	41,427	45,197
1792	45,581,667	108,703		11,270	17,190		51,578	
1800	35,676,908	213,142		13,242	12,201		64,547	
1/2 Jan. 5.								
1801	25,041,516	213,921	39,678,469	1,528	18,182	17,958	23,925	47,442
1802	37,767,077	142,853		1,672	23,492		53,855	
1804	37,432,365	137,489		71	7,847		50,264	
1805	42,988,621	127,091	41,456,366	260	8,967	7,966	51,941	45,216
1806	43,534,971	148,562			7,075		33,443	
1807	39,049,727	111,294		1,764	8,705		72,601	
1808	40,901,442	152,424	40,012,443	837	12,443	10,574	46,274	59,657

No. VIII.

APPENDIX.

ACCOUNT of the Quantities of CORN, MEAL, and FLOUR, BEEF, BUTTER, PORK, BACON, HORNED CATTLE, HOGS, and LINEN exported from different Sea-ports in Ireland, in the Year ending 5th January 1808 : Also an Account of the Quantity of Flaxseed imported into the same, in the year ending 5th January 1807.

Ports.	No. of Houses in principal Sea-port Towns.		Barley and Malt.		Oats.	Wheat.		Flour.	Oatmeal.	Beef.	Butter.	Pork.	Hams.	Fitches.	Bullocks and Cows.		Hogs.	Linen, plain.	Linen, coloured.	Flaxseed imported, year ending Jan-5, 1807.	
	Barrels.	Arrels.	Barrels.	Arrels.	Arrels.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Barrels.	Cwts.	Cwts.	Barrels.	Cwts.	No.	Yards.	No.	No.	Yards.	Yards.	Fogheads.	
Baltimore	47	1,038	596	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	187	114	-	-	-	-	-	75	-	10,994	1,026
Ballyraine	3,053	6,075	700	80	-	-	-	-	-	8,270	19,414	19,301	2,306	26,902	2	-	-	16,735,582	10,652	10,994	1,026
Belfast	545	8,318	50	169	-	-	-	-	-	-	910	217	-	-	-	-	-	1,150	-	5,754	5,754
Clare, Ennis	833	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	117,084	64,990	84	4,813	2,730	-	8,308	1,337,787	105,394	1,026	5,754
Coleraine	352	53,162	1,781	2,213	1,053	1,843	-	-	-	31,750	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,026	5,754
Cork	3087	386	404	40	50	5,953	-	-	-	-	2,844	-	-	-	11,067	-	-	18,113	-	14,342	1,026
Dingle	3,087	42,238	3,296	2,725	-	-	-	-	-	49	-	-	-	77	175	-	99	3,186,759	28,178	14,342	1,026
Donaghadee	16,023	22,187	878	1,518	28	4,980	-	-	-	35,389	14,252	6,938	2,526	1,101	1,828	448	448	12,923,678	-	341	1,026
Drogheda	1,083	1,040	2,877	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	3,014	-	4,707	17,870	-	2,578	1,026
Dublin	1,212	2,887	-	-	-	1,385	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	-	46	-	-	-	2,578	1,026
Dundalk	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	-	1,665	1,026
Galway	1,036	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,665	1,026
Killybegs	55	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,665	1,026
Kinlale	441	550	441	-	-	63	-	-	-	833	253	459	73	-	4	35	35	11,093	-	41	1,026
Larne	2,979	173,865	15,992	17,596	348	8,599	-	-	-	17,013	26,422	36,571	-	8,780	125	23	-	2,153	-	2,345	1,026
Limerick	1,154	-	1,254	-	-	623	-	-	-	281	521	1,206	-	-	-	-	-	3,075,374	5,341	17,277	1,026
Londonderry	1,503	9,654	131	-	-	-	-	-	-	71	2	699	-	-	-	-	-	319,200	-	17,277	1,026
Newport	920	114	1,861	1,563	103	-	-	-	-	499	23,507	4,746	101	-	-	-	-	3,048,971	2,859	12,078	1,026
Newry	1,172	12,806	-	-	-	1,334	-	-	-	2,671	3,178	1,429	530	3,297	385	269	-	91,706	-	3,650	1,026
Rofs	734	37,886	-	-	300	1,840	-	-	-	3,397	9,325	5,660	-	1,488	-	80	-	114,573	-	3,650	1,026
Sligo	3,107	196,505	12,264	32,013	4,867	4,064	-	-	-	9,719	96,719	25,457	190	220,524	98	731	-	16,676	-	85	1,026
Strangford	1,340	44,515	1,304	2,919	100	2	-	-	-	156	-	73	15	8,101	3,120	149	-	607	-	85	1,026
Tralee	228	772	-	40	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	1,026
Waterford	1,223	108,645	18,961	2,222	-	2,521	-	-	-	115	7,236	2,425	-	12	-	20	-	-	-	-	1,026
Wexford	41,686	723,730	62,790	66,634	6,869	33,287	-	-	-	110,218	321,871	170,289	5,830	291,019	26,351	17,345	-	40,901,442	152,424	72,398	1,026
Wicklow																					
Youghal																					
Totals	41,686	723,730	62,790	66,634	6,869	33,287				110,218	321,871	170,289	5,830	291,019	26,351	17,345		40,901,442	152,424	72,398	

Note, the numbers of houses in the second column are taken, with the exception of that of Dublin, from the returns made to Parliament by the Hearthmoney collectors in the year 1800. They are probably, in most cases, below the truth: in some, they have been found to be considerably so. Thus, for instance, Dr. Patterson found 1,458 houses in Londonderry, which is 304, or upwards of 1-4th more than returned; and in the year 1791, there were found, according to Dr. Beaufort, by accurate enumeration, 3,107 houses in Belfast; which is 54 more than returned in 1800; though, between these two years, the houses of Belfast have obviously increased considerably. This remark is still further confirmed by careful enumerations of the houses in several of the inland towns. Bandon and Kilkenny have been found to contain a vast many more than returned. In the year first mentioned, there were no returns made of the houses in Dublin or Cork. The number opposite the former is taken from Dr. Whitelaw's correct survey. In about 2-3ths of the area of the city of Cork, exclusive of the liberties thereof, there were lately found, by a most accurate survey, 2,794 inhabited houses, containing 23,924 souls.

ACCOUNT of the PRODUCTS of the LAND and LABOUR of IRELAND, exported in the Year ending 5th January 1804, with the CURRENT VALUE of the same: also the OFFICIAL and CURRENT VALUE, in different Years, of several of the more prominent of these.

Products,	LAND.			LABOUR.			
	Quantity.	Rate of Value.	Value.	Quantity.	Rate of Value each.	Value.	
Bacon	3,955	4 4 0	16,611 0 0	37,432,365	0 2 0	5,734,226 10 0	
Hams	114,382	2 18 0	331,707 16 0	137,489	0 1 3	8,593 1 3	
Flitches	79,347	4 11 6	363,012 10 6	7,847	8 10 0	66,699 10 0	
Beef	19	10 0 0	190 0 0	7,939	2 10 0	19,847 10 0	
Carcasses	28,322	9 14 0	276,663 8 0	8,447	4 18 0	41,990 6 0	
Bullocks and Cows	334,251	5 2 0	1,704,680 2 0	7,119	3 5 0	23,136 15 0	
Butter	2,304	10 0 0	23,640 0 0				
Feathers	12,976	2 15 0	35,684 0 0				
Hogs	7,028	5 0 0	35,140 0 0				
Hog's-lard	28,304	1 10 0	42,456 0 0				
Hides untanned	3,601	18 0 0	64,818 0 0				
Horses	119,049	4 13 0	553,577 17 0				
Pork	7,482	1 15 0	13,093 10 0				
Sheep	9,827	3 16 0	37,342 12 0				
Tallow	32,869	0 13 0	21,363 11 0				
Barley	2,349	0 18 0	2,114 2 0				
Beans	50	0 15 0	37 10 0				
Malt	391,102	0 14 0	273,771 8 0				
Oats	1,064	1 0 0	1,064 0 0				
Peas	1,121	1 0 0	1,121 0 0				
Rye	101,901	1 10 0	152,851 10 0				
Wheat	4,474	1 2 0	4,921 8 0				
Bread	43,143	0 16 0	34,514 8 0				
Flour	76,619	0 14 0	53,663 6 0				
Meal	2,173	2 5 0	4,899 5 0				
Oatmeal	930,800	0 1 11	89,201 13 4				
Rape Seed	1,295	1 6 0	1,683 10 0				
Aquavitze	5,480	1 6 0	7,124 0 0				
Ale	4,251	5 0 0	21,255 0 0				
Beer	1,807	10 0 0	18,070 0 0				
Kelp	142	23 10 0	3,337 8 0				
Copper							
Lead							
Skins, potatoes, fish, &c.							
Total Value of the Products of Land			4,252,284 7 8	Total Value of the Products of Labour			3,949,088 4 4
				Products of Land			4,252,284 7 8
				Total Value of small Articles excluded			40,115 7 9½
				Total			8,201,372 12 0
				Value of foreign Merchandise exported			8,241,487 19 9½
				Total			141,301 0 0
OFFICIAL VALUE.							
CURRENT VALUE.							
1799.							
1800.							
1803.							
Hams	1 10 0	2 1 6½	2 5 0	1 10 0	2 1 6½	2 5 0	
Flitches	0 15 0	1 12 3	1 15 0	0 15 0	1 12 3	1 15 0	
Beef	1 15 0	3 19 2	3 15 0	0 15 0	3 19 2	3 15 0	
Carcasses	5 0 0	4 12 3	5 0 0	0 15 0	4 12 3	5 0 0	
Bread	0 12 0	0 18 5½	1 0 0	0 15 0	0 18 5½	1 0 0	
Butter	2 2 6	3 4 7½	3 10 0	0 15 0	3 4 7½	3 10 0	
Barley	0 12 0	0 13 10	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 13 10	0 15 0	
Oats	0 7 0	0 10 6½	0 11 0	0 15 0	0 10 6½	0 11 0	
Wheat	1 7 0	1 7 8½	1 10 0	0 15 0	1 7 8½	1 10 0	
Pork	1 10 0	3 4 7½	3 15 0	0 15 0	3 4 7½	3 15 0	
Aquavitze	0 3 0	0 5 1	0 5 6	0 15 0	0 5 1	0 5 6	
Linen plain	0 1 4	0 1 5½	0 1 7	0 15 0	0 1 5½	0 1 7	

TRADE of IRELAND with GREAT BRITAIN and the rest of the World during Ten Years, ending 25th March 1782 : also an Account of the COAL, COTTONS, CORN, &c. imported into, and exported from IRELAND in different Years.

Years ending 25 March.	OFFICIAL VALUE OF GOODS EXPORTED.					OFFICIAL VALUE OF GOODS IMPORTED.			
	Irish Produce and Manufactures.		Foreign Goods.		Total.	from Great Britain and British Colonies.	from the rest of the World.	Total.	Balance.
	to Great Britain and British Colonies.	to the rest of the World.	to Great Britain and British Colonies.	to the rest of the World.					
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1773	2,447,028	524,317			2,971,345	1,850,613	567,000	2,417,613	553,732
1774	2,357,067	444,075	20,619	10,682	2,832,443	1,858,558	599,473	2,458,031	374,412
1775	2,623,659	492,054	22,909	4,414	3,143,036	1,924,759	583,655	2,508,414	634,622
1776	2,801,299	438,097	14,710	6,640	3,260,746	2,042,866	611,691	2,654,557	606,189
1777	2,845,744	258,694	37,929	5,763	3,148,130	2,363,813	760,114	3,123,927	24,203
1778	9,991,876	239,358	32,939	4,280	3,268,453	2,158,160	678,641	2,836,801	431,652
1779	2,477,796	224,247	19,885	5,185	2,727,113	1,715,806	480,128	2,195,934	531,179
1780	2,682,636	320,614	6,513	2,414	3,012,177	1,601,777	515,801	2,117,578	894,599
1781	2,522,293	358,136	12,437	3,167	2,896,033	2,475,693	647,337	3,123,030	226,997*
1782	3,044,104	331,587	12,212	10,693	3,398,596	2,425,076	569,188	2,994,264	404,332
Total	-	-	180,153	53,238	180,153	Annual average Export of foreign Goods.			
			Both	233,381		£.	s.	d.	
						25,931	4	5 ¹ / ₂	*Unfavourable.

Years ending 5th January.	IMPORTED FROM GREAT BRITAIN INTO IRELAND.				SUGAR IMPORTED.		EXPORTED.	Official Value of Foreign Goods exported from Ireland.	
	Coal.	Plain and coloured Cottons.	Old and New Drapery.	Hardware.	Direct from West Indies.			Years ending 5th Jan.	Current Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures exported.
	Tons.	Value.	Yards.	Value.	3 Years to 1799 inclusive.	Cwts.	Cwts.	£.	£.
1801	346,881	£118,028		£. s. d.		137,215	29,434		
1802	315,345	121,555				406,172	1,388	1803	212,208
1803	346,105	223,966						1804	141,301
1804	417,030	143,228						1805	160,158
1805	438,721	145,301						1806	142,418
1806	412,515	165,817						1807	157,443
1807	476,148	113,846						1808	150,370
1808	491,239	116,837	2,462,598	265,534 12 4	From all Places.				10,116,385
					1 Year 5th Jan. 1808.	324,477			About 1 to 67.

Year ending 5th January 1808.	EXPORTED TO GREAT BRITAIN FROM IRELAND.										Official Value of Foreign Goods exported from Great Britain.	
	England	Scotland	Beef.	Butter.	Bacon.	Perk.	Oats.	Barley.	Wheat.	Kelp.	Linen, plain.	Year ending 5th Jan.
	Barrels.	Cwts.	Fitches.No.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Tons.	Yards.		£.	
	78,374	273,573	288,062	138,574	536,851	23,863	67,133	3,690	36,264,945			
	6,881	12,498	1,332	3,664	185,511	23,254	510	1,555	2,190,982			
Total	85,255	286,071	289,394	142,238	722,362	47,111	67,643	5,245	38,455,927			
Total of Corn 837,122 Barrels.										1807	9,124,479	43,242,176
										About 3 to 14.		

ACCOUNT of the Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS of IRELAND since the YEAR 1749; and likewise of the BRITISH SHIPPING employed in the IRISH Trade.

Years ending 25 Mar.	Exports. Official Value. £.	Annual Average. £.	Imports. Official Value. £.	Annual Average. £.	Balance favourable. £.	Balance unfavourable. £.	British Shipping. Tons.	Annual Average. Tons.	Years ending 25th March.	Current Value of Irish Produce, &c. exported; Official Value of foreign Do.	Imported. £.	Balance favourable. £.	Balance unfavourable. £.
1750	1,862,833	1,890,706	1,531,654	1,605,374	£.	£.	173,522	190,658	1796	6,894,167	6,418,375	475,792	£.
1751	1,932,803		1,591,795		285,332		188,629		1797	6,285,748	6,219,767	65,981	
1752	1,876,482		1,692,673				209,835		1798	6,133,177	4,761,796	1,371,381	
1760	2,139,388		1,647,592		588,982		207,355		1799	6,380,456	6,162,391	218,065	
1761	2,279,926	2,285,746	1,527,903	1,696,764			235,098	216,018	1800	5,881,329	8,182,500		2,271,171
1762	2,438,926		1,914,798				205,598		5th Jan.				
1770	3,159,386	3,302,576	2,566,844	2,415,785			310,819	308,690	1801	5,281,881	7,774,779		2,492,898
1771	3,481,318		2,492,616		886,791		297,988		1802	8,571,412		917,299	
1772	3,266,822		2,187,895				317,263	320,089	1803				
1780	3,012,178	3,094,635	2,127,579	2,748,291	346,344		300,922		Irish Produce and Manu- factures.				
1781	2,896,935		3,123,031				339,470		1804	8,241,487			
1782	3,375,692		2,994,265				319,876		Foreign	141,301			
1790	4,855,319	5,061,913	3,829,914	4,079,906	982,007		482,156	484,430	1805	160,158			
1791	4,942,661		4,071,794				436,721		Foreign	8,436,933			
1792	5,387,760		4,338,012				534,413	458,861	1806	142,418			
1800	4,079,271		6,183,457				498,845		Foreign	9,314,854			
5th Jan.							389,034		Foreign	157,443			
1801	3,819,062	4,100,526	5,584,596	5,591,503	1,490,977		468,704		1807	10,116,385			
1802	4,403,247		5,006,457						Foreign	150,370			
1806	5,202,385	5,282,909	5,982,194	6,075,358	792,449				The current Value was not estimated for any other Years than the foregoing.				
1807	5,188,105		5,605,964										
1808	5,458,177		6,637,907										

CLEARED OUTWARDS.				ENTERED INWARDS.			
BRITISH.				IRISH.			
Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.
1805	5,013	507,177	28,337	1,080	82,934	5,013	1,243
1806	5,442	535,761	30,648	1,172	90,473	6,077	1,476
1807	5,888	574,688	32,441	1,353	97,162	6,754	1,497
1808	6,294	615,702	34,631	1,320	97,856	6,797	1,503
of which from Ireland, 5,107				of which for Ireland, 5,300			
72,777				78,596			
462,197				459,939			
26,649				26,041			

BRITISH SHIPPING entered Inwards in the several PORTS of ENGLAND from all Parts of the World, Year ending 5th January 1807.

BRITISH SHIPPING cleared Outwards same Year.

No. XIII.

TABLE, Shewing the Quantities of FOREIGN SPIRITS, ALE, and BEER, imported since the Year 1700, in Periods of four Years : also the Quantities of Home-made SPIRITS, STRONG and SMALL BEER, which paid Duty ; the former since the Year 1720, the latter since the Year 1748.

IMPORT.				HOME MADE.			ANNUAL AVERAGE.				
Four Years,	Foreign Spirits.	Ale and Beer.		Spirits which paid Duty.	Strong Beer which paid Duty.	Small Beer, which paid Duty.	Average annual Import of Foreign Spirits.	Average annual Quantity of Home-made Spirits which paid Duty.	Average annual Import of Beer and Ale.	Average annual Quantity of Home-made Strong Beer.	Average annual Quantity of Home-made Small Beer.
Ending Dec. 25.	Gallons.	Ale.	Beer.	Gallons.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Barrels.	Barrels.	Barrels.
1704	500,414	1,141	—	-	-	-	125,103	-	285	-	-
3 1/2 to Mar. 25.											
1708	377,444	503	—	-	-	-	94,361	-	125	-	-
1712	665,356	238	59	-	-	-	166,339	-	74	-	-
1716	1,069,116	380	51	-	-	-	267,279	-	107	-	-
1720	1,203,127	883	259	-	-	-	300,781	-	285	-	-
1724	1,474,795	557	598	522,996	-	-	368,698	130,749	288	-	-
1728	1,489,398	701	407	677,511	-	-	372,349	169,377	277	-	-
1732	1,506,466	3,289	584	622,867	-	-	376,616	155,716	968	-	-
1736	1,782,797	2,474	610	899,004	-	-	445,699	224,251	771	-	-
1740	2,004,414	3,657	1,897	896,443	-	-	501,103	224,110	1,338	-	-
1744	1,997,352	17,229	770	1,276,954	-	-	499,338	319,233	4,499	-	-
1748	1,524,852	7,090	24,527	1,720,249	-	-	381,213	430,062	7,904	-	-
		Both.									
1752	3,113,234	59,843	-	2,358,199	2,413,668	927,910	778,308	589,549	14,985	603,917	231,977
1756	4,795,595	70,945	-	2,162,731	2,275,597	801,084	1,198,898	540,682	17,986	568,899	200,271
1760	3,617,320	56,237	-	1,137,013	1,986,123	710,788	904,330	284,253	14,059	496,530	177,947
1764	5,362,733	87,878	-	2,454,709	2,447,482	695,705	1,340,685	613,677	21,969	611,870	173,926
1768	9,676,473	130,256	-	2,377,473	2,234,628	578,804	2,419,118	594,368	32,564	558,657	144,701
1772	10,427,723	175,730	-	3,125,330	1,904,084	563,372	2,606,930	781,332	43,932	476,021	140,843
1776	8,530,248	231,529	-	4,126,748	1,832,032	461,842	2,132,562	1,031,687	57,882	458,008	115,460
1780	6,424,610	231,898	-	4,568,918	1,818,754	528,870	1,606,152	4,142,229	57,974	454,688	132,217
1784	3,999,611	226,567	-	7,072,169	1,839,443	708,552	999,902	1,768,042	56,641	459,861	177,138
1788	5,631,997	246,880	-	7,489,947	1,552,527	680,750	1,407,999	1,872,486	61,720	388,131	170,187
1792	4,654,436	426,771	-	12,756,552	1,822,799	823,609	1,163,609	3,189,133	106,692	455,699	215,902
1796	2,067,659	332,448	-	15,339,513	-	-	516,914	3,834,878	83,112	-	-
1800	757,729	162,981	-	16,525,813	-	-	-	4,131,453	40,745	-	-
3 1/2 to Jan. 5.					No return made, subsequently to this period.	No return made, subsequently to this period.	1,148,760	3,016,815	9,504	-	-
1804	4,595,041	38,016	-	12,067,262	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Two Years,					Computed on the quantity of malt permitted to Brewers.	Computed on the quantity of malt permitted to Brewers.					
ending Jan. 5.											
1806	529,391	5,303	-	7,367,983	1,320,682	414,288	264,695	3,683,996	2650	660,341	207,144
1808	813,971	4,627 1/2	-	9,635,987	1,501,453	566,402	406,985	4,817,993	2,313	750,726	283,201
One Year,											
1808	467,057	2,128	-	5,704,185	751,146	283,452	-	-	-	-	-

Foreign Spirits exported 1807, - 61,583 Gallons.
 1808, - 24,872 Do.

No. XIV.

ACCOUNT of the Quantity of MALT made in IRELAND since the Commencement of the Duty thereon : also of the Quantity of BEER and ALE imported since the Year ended 25th March 1786 ; and also of the successive Duties on MALT and SPIRITS, &c.

Year.	Malt made since the Commencement of the Duty.	Duty per Barrel.	Strong Beer and Ale imported.	Home-made Spirits which paid Duty.	Rate of Duty per Gallon.	Amount of Produce of Excise Duty on Spirits.	Legal Stills, with their Contents, as returned to Parliament.	Quantity of Home-made Spirits exported.
Ended 25th Mar.	Barrels.	l. s. d.	Barrels.	Gallons.	l. s. d.	£	No. Stills. Gallons.	Gallons.
1786	887,885	2 6	55,283	-	-	-	238 119,072	-
1787	892,175	-	68,493	-	-	-	-	-
1788	931,200	-	74,725	-	-	-	-	-
1789	994,304	-	91,009	-	-	-	-	-
1790	929,335	-	109,049	See Table, No. XIII.	-	-	168 86,55	-
1791	1,174,391	-	101,655	-	-	-	-	-
1792	1,216,970	-	125,059	-	-	-	-	-
1793	1,191,884	-	125,057	-	-	-	-	429
1794	2,284,378	-	76,255	-	-	-	-	135
1795	1,242,097	3 3	72,398	-	-	-	214 126,016	1,011
1796	1,197,033	5 3	55,738	-	-	-	-	1,216
1797	1,203,147	-	67,188	-	1 6	-	-	58,615
1798	1,190,875	-	50,919	-	-	-	Dublin 30, of 883 gallons on an average each.	2,866
1799	1,124,827	6 0	25,178	-	2 3 1/2	-	-	4,055
1800	843,900	-	19,709	-	2 6	549,492	-	3,152
1801	173,634	6 6	14,428	-	-	180,169	-	2,770
1802	664,430	-	10,495	-	3 9 1/2	270,284	-	227,519
1803	920,383	-	9,884	-	-	846,335	-	1,130,019
1804	905,649	-	3,209	-	-	762,461 1/2	-	930,800
1805	715,479	-	3,143	-	4 5	736,757	-	1,196,569
1806	705,114	10 10	2,160	-	-	713,074	-	1,044,548
1807	717,232	-	Ale. 2,499	-	-	785,814	-	531,648
1808	604,561	-	2,125	-	-	1,236,244	-	648,706
* The malt was returned to 25th March, till the beginning of the year 1803.			Beer exported 1807 4,487 1808 4,450			† From 29th Sept. 1803, to 9th Sept. 1804.	Amount of the Bounties of 8l. and 10l. paid to Distillers using large Stills. 1803, to do. 1804 100,385 17 10 1805 100,892 19 4 1806 87,407 14 3 1/2 1807 90,953 6 6 Christ. quarter, 1807 25,190 12 0	Quantity on export, 4d. per gallon, when barley does not exceed 13s. 6d. the barrel. 44 G. 3. c. 26.

ORDINARY REVENUE OF IRELAND. GROSS RECEIPT.							EXPENDITURE.				
Two Years.	Arrears and Balances.	Customs, Excise, Loan Duties, &c.	Carriage Duty.	Hearth-money, included in the foregoing Columns.	Stamps.	Post Office.	Civil Establishment, including Pensions.	Pensions.	Military Establishment.	Total Expenditure, including Extraordinary, Parliamentary Grants, Annuities, &c.	National Debt.
End. Mar. 25	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	C. E. £.	P. £.	£.	£.	£.
1781	226,880	1,863,057	4,629	123,301	53,660	-	328,502	85,456	920,224	1,883,178	1,554,125†
1783	250,757	2,227,947	7,664	125,824	69,458	-	343,635	91,375	898,620	2,239,783	2,034,953†
One Year, End. Mar. 25								93,252			
1784	253,121	1,227,397	4,917	61,309	34,580	-	174,918		429,686	1,233,061	1,997,417†
1785	192,888	1,213,801	5,084	61,380	38,512	27,512	187,145	97,366	480,727	1,068,729	2,157,031†
1786	252,365	1,440,324	6,412	64,106	54,381	42,440	193,272	96,881	504,320	1,236,328	2,300,671†
1787	379,868	1,343,963	9,996	63,425	49,983	44,336	197,727	104,844	501,289	1,384,933	2,296,706†
1788	286,044	1,460,300	11,020	66,750	57,172	44,268	197,515	101,565	506,047	1,383,022	2,362,847†
1789	287,076	1,464,787	12,654	70,625	58,606	46,635	206,174	99,870	535,093	1,406,270	2,477,425†
1790	310,485	1,497,862	16,752	71,909	62,377	46,419	207,808	102,129	535,086	1,436,164	2,244,652†
1791	287,906	1,560,116	17,957	76,983	61,644	50,209	206,389	101,936	536,331	1,490,624	2,271,280†
1792	284,236	1,590,543	17,987	77,358	63,341	52,245	208,430	104,495	541,351	1,448,734	2,240,637†
1793	311,725	1,502,542	17,784	78,996	66,120	55,666	213,753	122,760	586,078	1,592,767	2,219,694†
1794	299,472	1,435,261	17,553	70,274	67,027	59,122	214,666	120,172	978,818	2,028,055	3,760,508†
1795	298,523	1,749,660	18,414	69,725	93,664	60,799	267,760	119,075	1,362,385	2,635,302	4,206,313†
1796	420,986	2,099,442	23,603	44,386	89,190	67,763	265,172	116,683	1,804,376	3,455,671	5,958,591†
1797	652,737	1,947,690	22,998	38,104	109,035	68,256	264,075	114,444	1,891,967	3,689,484	9,413,501†
1798	608,189	2,057,215	24,623	40,249	101,265	78,755	261,683	113,819	3,612,424	5,476,637	11,732,299†
1799	372,397	2,528,527	43,760	45,078	102,134	79,471	259,444	168,403	3,430,596	7,086,635	13,427,026†
1800	765,979	3,192,123	51,622	61,777	169,555	84,040	258,819	172,405	4,965,122	7,023,166*	25,293,679†
Fr. Mar. 25. to Jan. 1.											
1801 to Jan. 5.	668,613	2,095,733	22,336	49,594	141,165	66,032	183,000	75,348	2,740,189	4,829,134	31,950,656†
1802	596,234	2,706,311	14,295	32,933	211,432	102,293	275,639	113,765	3,907,674	9,077,180	34,911,838†
1803	494,689	3,906,179	31,450	76,808	211,427	102,518	249,836	118,076	2,780,619	7,806,504	39,541,258†
1804	664,179	3,390,423	22,110	52,110	216,443	108,844	252,698	105,724	2,861,005	7,779,015	43,019,325†
1805	520,181	3,610,744	22,231	52,863	394,537	118,429	290,731	128,233	4,318,420	9,760,013	53,296,356†
1806	427,641	3,545,289	12,568	20,623	501,943	146,682	254,029	96,914	3,908,261	8,713,924	58,344,690†
1807	310,266	3,941,413	41,759	74,915	572,127	149,857	227,249	93,250	4,050,162	8,537,653	64,721,356†
1808	325,231	4,798,766	30,160	67,843	594,154	158,749	239,281	89,639	3,929,878	8,566,165	70,647,783†
Rate, per centum, at which the Customs and Excise of Ireland were collected, on an average of 7 years ended in 1787.		The Carriage Duty and Hearth Money were payable before March 25, in the first period; they were brought forward in the second.		Rate of Collection, year ended Jan. 5. 1808	Rate of Collection, year ended Jan. 5. 1808.	Funded Debt of Ireland, from March 25, 1784, according to a return presented to Parliament.			Issues for local purposes, included in the above.		Unfunded Debt of Ireland, year ended Jan. 5, 1808.
£ 14 15 1 1/2				£ 5 2 9 1/2	£ 46 8 9 1/2	1784	-	£ 1,527,600	Years, end d		£ 429,55
Rate at which the gross Revenue, arising from Customs and Excise, was collected in the year ended Jan. 5, 1808.						1785	-	1,490,920	Jan: 5.		Annual Interest, Management, &c. of the Funded Debt of Ireland.
Customs, £ 9 14 11 1/2						1786	-	1,584,540	1802		£ 20,682
Excise, 8 0 10 1/2						1787	-	1,768,240	1803		10,432
Average £ 8 17 11 1/2						1788	-	1,718,240	1804		19,539
						1789	-		1805		38,599
						1790	-		1806		18,783
						1791	-	1,718,240.	1807		24,678
						1792	-		1808		15,110
						1793	-	1,760,740			Interest, &c. payable in London.
						1794	-	2,134,140			£. s. d.
						1795	-	3,185,990			2,187,222 4 1/2
						1796	-	4,841,856			Debt payable in London.
						1797	-	5,825,056			£. s. d.
						1798	-	10,128,906			53,126,260 8 4
						1799	-	16,508,790			
						5th Jan.	-	24,207,290			
						1800	-	30,109,056			
						* Exclusive of annuities.					
						† Net Funded Debt from the Papers of the Accountant General.					
						‡ Principal Funded Debt from the Papers of the Secretary of the Treasury.					
Rate, per centum, at which the gross Revenue of Great Britain was collected, in the year ending Jan. 1808.											
Customs, -		£ 5 2 8									
Excise, -		2 17 7									
Stamps, -		3 5 3									
Post Office, -		21 12 0									
Average, -		£ 8 3 10 1/2									

No. XVI.

POPULATION OF IRELAND in 1695.

Statement of Captain SOUTH, one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue.

Counties of Armagh	Persons assessed, 25,185	Exempted, 456	Total, 25,641
Louth	Do. 16,502	Do. 701	Do. 17,203
Meath	Do. 42,180	Do. 1138	Do. 43,318
City of Dublin	-	-	40,508
			<u>126,670</u>

" In the rest of the kingdom, according to the first quarter's assessment of the poll, there were, in proportion to the above counties, which were very exactly returned,

907,432*
126,670
1,034,102

The Act, under which the assessment took place, was 7 W. 3. c. 15, entitled, " An act for granting a supply to his Majesty by raising money by poll and otherwise." The persons exempted from paying poll-money under this Act were, foreign protestant refugees; widows discharged from paying hearth-money; officers in his majesty's army, commanded out of the kingdom, and actually leaving the same; disbanded officers who served in Londonderry or Enniskillen, not possessed of freehold estates; widows of officers who served in these towns, having no freehold estates from their late husbands; widows of officers or soldiers who were killed or died during the late rebellion, not having freehold estates; persons who served as private soldiers in Londonderry or Enniskillen, during the siege of the former; their wives, widows, or children, and persons receiving alms, and being certified for by the minister of the parish, or, in his absence, by the next justice of the peace. The number of Commissioners appointed by this act was 1415, all of whom were to be Protestants. The penalty on assessors and presenters for non-performance of duty, was any sum not exceeding 5*l.* Collectors of parishes were allowed 3*d.* in the pound; collectors of baronies 2*d.* in the pound.

POPULATION OF IRELAND, as returned to Parliament in 1731.

	Protestants.	Protestants.	Both.	
Ulster,	360,630	700,451	2,011,219	
Leinster,	203,087			
Munster,	115,130			
Connaught,	21,604			
	Roman Catholics.	Roman Catholics.		
Ulster,	158,028	1,309,768		
Leinster,	447,916			
Munster,	482,044			
Connaught,	221,780			

* Phil. Transf. v. iii. p. 666.

No. XVII.

RETURN of the HOUSES in IRELAND in the Year 1791, presented by THOMAS WRAY, Esq. Inspector-general of Hearth-money, 22d March 1792.

Counties.	HOUSES PAYING FOR										Total.					
	One Hearth.	Two Hearths.	Three Hearths.	Four Hearths.	Five Hearths.	Six Hearths.	Seven Hearths.	Eight Hearths.	Nine Hearths.	Ten Hearths.		More than 10, and less than 44.	44 to 114 inclusive.	Taken from Abstract.	Exempted as	
Ulster.	Antrim	22,353	1,939	592	292	166	114	58	55	25	20	51	2	-	New. 895 Paupers. 3,746	30,314
	Armagh	18,794	784	217	105	75	31	28	21	15	8	23	-	-	431	22,900
	Cavan	13,928	571	122	65	34	36	15	13	7	7	19	-	-	559	18,139
	Donegal	15,395	1,225	282	97	55	24	14	20	5	6	20	-	-	648	24,976
	Down	31,147	1,974	482	235	148	89	42	34	13	25	67	-	-	1,118	38,351
	Fermanagh	8,713	413	76	53	28	35	5	4	2	2	20	-	-	244	11,983
	Londonderry	8,638	659	148	45	79	65	32	32	17	9	20	-	8,850	3,609	22,836
	Monaghan	16,742	599	175	70	39	26	22	16	9	3	15	-	-	471	21,566
	Tyrone	23,346	1,459	351	148	72	61	26	9	12	8	23	1	-	876	31,814
Leinster.	Carlow	5,503	484	128	69	50	31	15	8	7	3	9	-	-	268	8,394
	Dublin	7,693	2,016	1,293	1,571	1,252	1,950	2,123	1,930	1,235	834	1,319	6	-	673	25,108
	Kildare	6,945	662	147	121	85	58	28	25	21	17	50	3	1,431	848	10,605
	Kilkenny	13,212	833	228	126	56	61	29	24	17	10	22	1	-	288	17,719
	King's County	10,445	897	225	133	101	56	41	26	14	18	34	-	-	599	14,961
	Longford	6,662	349	78	40	38	19	12	7	5	5	13	-	-	327	10,348
	Louth	9,239	487	165	105	83	65	56	18	15	20	36	1	-	461	12,827
	Meath	17,215	1,064	238	132	104	68	44	37	16	22	77	1	-	987	23,133
	Queen's County	11,161	834	215	115	74	52	35	20	10	16	32	2	-	482	15,685
	Westmeath	10,068	653	161	103	57	37	32	33	13	10	51	1	-	322	13,951
Wexford	14,828	1,331	307	192	95	82	63	35	22	22	38	-	-	560	21,011	
Wicklow	7,518	725	173	105	55	32	22	14	8	11	36	1	-	378	11,507	
																185,252 Leinster.
Munster.	Clare	12,502	508	116	99	48	50	22	17	14	14	20	-	-	621	18,050
	Cork	56,422	3,896	1,225	1,225	811	625	381	220	107	58	117	-	-	2,344	76,739
	Kerry	15,951	650	97	97	53	41	13	8	2	8	19	1	-	614	20,213
	Limerick	21,489	1,177	223	223	155	123	87	65	43	26	49	-	-	1,139	28,932
	Tipperary	23,554	1,579	243	243	143	98	62	52	20	14	46	-	-	789	30,791
Waterford	13,590	942	214	214	157	145	107	59	33	33	58	1	-	456	18,796	
																193,523 Munster.
Connaught.	Galway	11,735	723	274	122	76	60	37	26	13	12	36	-	4,744	967	24,268
	Leitrim	8,093	257	51	21	24	8	5	3	2	4	5	-	-	851	13,378
	Mayo	19,187	656	145	75	47	31	13	19	8	10	19	-	-	1,121	29,683
	Roiconnon	12,126	529	129	91	43	36	24	10	7	6	19	-	-	618	18,157
	Sligo	11,006	558	139	69	52	26	15	7	8	4	5	-	-	666	14,962
																99,448 Connaught.
																701,102 Houses.

The number of Hearths in these Houses could not be ascertained, as the Books were not returned.

An Account of the Number of Houses paying Hearth-money, and the Number of Houses exempted, in 1791.			Estimate of the Value of the Holdings of Persons paying Duty for one Hearth only, grounded on various Returns of Holdings, situated in the several Counties of Ireland. By THOMAS WRAY, Esq. Inspector-General of Hearth-money.		
Houses.	Number of Hearths.	Duty thereon.	Value of Holdings.	Number of Hearths.	
		£. s. d.	£.		
483,990	1	48,399 0 0	1 and under	7,081	
31,433	2	6,826 12 0	2 do.	50,723	
9,466	3	2,839 12 0	3 do.	62,885	
6,401	4	2,560 8 0	4 do.	59,995	180,684
4,355	5	2,177 10 0	5 do.	58,568	
4,235	6	2,541 0 0	6 do.	46,485	285,737
3,498	7	2,448 12 0	7 do.	25,817	
2,867	8	2,293 12 0	8 do.	27,530	
1,738	9	1,564 4 0	9 do.	10,815	
1,265	10	1,265 0 0	10 do.	41,115	
628	11	960 16 0	20 do.	62,502	
443	12	531 12 0	30 do.	14,029	
265	13	344 10 0	40 do.	7,585	
226	14	316 8 0	50 do.	3,859	
160	15	240 0 0	Upwards of £50	5,001	
136	16	217 12 0			483,990
88	17	149 12 0			
68	18	122 8 0			
37	19	70 6 0			
58	20	116 0 0			
36	21	75 12 0			
43	22	94 12 0			
22	23	50 12 0			
28	24	67 4 0			
28	25	70 0 0			
18	26	46 16 0			
9	27	24 6 0			
15	28	42 0 0			
4	29	11 12 0			
16	30	48 0 0			
3	31	9 6 0			
5	32	16 0 0			
12	33	39 12 0			
4	34	13 12 0			
4	35	14 0 0			
3	36	10 16 0			
4	37	14 16 0			
2	38	7 12 0			
4	39	15 12 0			
9	40	36 0 0			
2	41	8 4 0			
3	42	12 12 0			
2	43	8 12 0			
2	44	8 16 0			
2	45	9 0 0			
1	47	4 14 0			
2	48	9 12 0			
2	50	10 0 0			
2	52	10 8 0			
1	53	5 6 0			
2	54	10 16 0			
1	55	5 10 0			
1	56	5 12 0			
1	62	6 4 0			
1	63	6 6 0			
1	67	6 14 0			
1	71	7 2 0			
2	114	22 16 0			

15,052 taken from abstract.
21,866 exempted as new.
112,556 exempted as paupers.
Total 701,102

A Division of the Householders of Ireland, residing in single hearth-houses; copied from No. 1. of the Papers presented by Mr. WRAY to the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Duties of Hearth-money.

FIRST CLASS—Farmers holding from 40 acres of arable ground and upwards, and feeders and rearers of cattle, holding large tracts of rough ground or mountain, &c. in circumstances with respect to self-comfort and independence, equal to any man.

SECOND CLASS—Farmers holding from 10 to 40 acres of ground, mostly in tillage, many of them manufacturers; also dairy-keepers, who have no permanent holdings, but as convenience best suits, take a residence, and the milk of 10, 15, 20, 50 or more cows. This class all in comfortable circumstances.

THIRD CLASS—Labouring farmers, 5, 10, 20, or upwards, in partnership, holding in common from 40 acres of ground up to hundreds, mostly under tillage, generally articulated to give a portion of labour to their landlords; when that and the labour of their farms will permit, they are carriers of flour, butter, merchant goods, &c.; also manufacturers, tradesmen, and dealers; also stewards and tradesmen, bound to gentlemen. The holdings of this class may be rated at a yearly value of from 6l. to 10l. or upwards, and are all able to bear the tax of 2s. annually.

FOURTH CLASS—Tradesmen, small dealers, and unbound labourers. Their holdings in towns from 1l. 10s. to 4l. value; in the country, where they have as much land as may give them an adequate supply of potatoes, from 4l. to 6l.

FIFTH CLASS—Cottiers, tradesmen, or bound labourers, holding their houses and gardens at will, with an acre of ground for potatoes, the whole of the value of about 4l. or 4 guineas a-year. Many of this class are exempted from the tax under the present regulations.

SIXTH CLASS—Persons disabled by accident, sickness, debility of limbs, old age, &c. from earning subsistence; also widows old and without help, or with a young and burdensome family. This class are totally exempt from the tax, as it is now collected.

Extract from the Declaration of Mr. Wray:—"I was appointed to the office of Inspector-general of Hearth-money, in the year 1787; and, under the direction of Mr. Commissioner Bushe, visited every walk in every part of the kingdom. I had it in direct and positive charge from Mr. Bushe, to make it a particular object in the pursuit of my duty to attain a knowledge of the situation of the poorer orders inhabiting single hearth-houses. Com. Journ. vol. xv. App. p. 337, &c.

Mr. Wray declared to the writer of these pages, in the year 1804, that there was no truth of which he was more convinced, than that not more than one half of the exempted houses were returned.

No. XVIII.

POPULATION of Part of the CITY of CORK.

The City of Cork is divided into seven Parishes, St. Finbar, St. Nicholas, Christchurch, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Anne, or Lower Shandon; St. Mary, or Upper Shandon. The Parishes of St. Finbar and of Upper Shandon, the former at the southern, the latter at the northern extremity of the city, extend about three miles into the country. The following Account, taken in 1807, comprises the Population of Christchurch, of St. Nicholas, and that part of St. Finbar, which, from the continuity of Houses, may be considered as belonging to the City.

Names of Streets.	Inhabited Houses.	Roman Catholics.	Non Catholics.	
<i>Parish of Christchurch.</i>				
South-main-street	89	598	298	
Morgan's-lane	5	82	4	
Wether's-lane, Allen's-lane, Lumley's-lane, Simon's-lane	27	320	48	
Old Post-office-lane, Wood's-lane, Kiff's-lane, Collis's-lane,	25	287	31	Alms Houses. 38
Christchurch-lane	8	92	44	
Bradley's-lane, Frederick's-lane, Wife's-lane, Berry's-lane	24	225	16	
Collector's-lane	19	88	7	
Tobin-street, or Charters's-lane	19	164	54	
Brunswick-street	12	101	37	
Hanover-street, with Little do.	52	291	304	
Clark's-bridge, and Queen's-place	12	38	58	
Cross-street, and Pitt's-lane	28	336	75	
Clothier's-lane	19	146	139	
Chamberlain's-alley	10	102	141	
James-street	11	11	44	
Ann-street	10	10	41	
Fishamble-lane	36	262	139	
Fenn's-quay	14	11	57	
Mardyke-street	21	60	94	
Grand Parade	81	390	370	
Lucky-street	18	31	114	
Chatterton's-buildings, and Parliament-street	12	48	44	
All Morrifon's island	45	245	241	
North-side of South-mall	34	147	145	
Warner's-quay	13	54	33	
Lapp's-island	10	33	25	
Merchant's-quay	9	64	35	
Patrick-street, south side	42	243	155	
Fish-street, with north side, and Thomas-street	28	111	115	
Mayler-street, and Winthorp-street	12	39	36	
Cook-street	19	63	42	
<i>Parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Finbar.</i>				
Mary-street	15	69	43	
Margaret street	12	47	29	
Dunbar-street	16	101	24	
George's-quay	14	64	26	

No. XVIII.—continued.

Names of Streets.	Inhabited Houses.	Roman Catholics.	Non Catholics.	
<i>Parish of St. Nicholas and St. Finbar—continued.</i>				
Buckingham-square, White-street, and Kemp-street	18	90	46	
Rutland-street	10	46	25	
Terrace, with adjoining houses	20	108	110	
Cove-lane, or Douglas-street, and Carigeen-street	70	592	93	
New-lane	25	167	54	
Well-lane, and Quaker-road	59	403	15	
Quarry-road, or High-street	119	599	7	
From Crone's-lane, near Maypole-cross, to the end of } Evergreen-turn, Ballyphelane	174	883	42	
Sullivan's-quay	16	73	33	
Cove-street	26	180	12	
Travers-street, and Greenfield	14	158	5	
Abbey-street	29	330	49	
Maypole-road, from New-lane to Barrack-street	76	657	236	
Furze-lane, and Colbert's-lane	16	98	10	
Nicholas's-church-lane	10	83	24	
Geary's-lane	14	139	4	
Lag-lane	23	220	16	
Three-hatchet-lane	39	340	11	
Marlbro'-street	20	81	60	
Prince's-street	26	132	72	
Market-lane, and Pump-lane	14	92	13	
Grafton's-alley, Morgan-street, and Hurug's-alley	19	105	35	
Pembroke-street, and Smith-street	16	144	49	
Carlone-street, and Coghlan's-lane	10	79	25	
Georges's street	85	400	300	
Barrack-street	45	278	68	
Bandon-road	209	1388	64	
Dean-street, and Drudges-hill	48	446	131	
Barrack-slip-lane	9	102	10	
Step-lane, and Kearn's-square	29	271	8	
Murphy's-lane	11	95	12	
Cat-lane	61	520	2	
Kitling's-lane, and Feather-bed-lane	29	291	-	
Bennett's square, Blackhorse-lane, and Leary's-lane	21	174	-	
Old Weigh-house lane	16	109	-	
Crowley's-lane, and Rochford-lane	26	199	-	
Kent's, or Pigot's-lane	23	164	-	
Caboug-lane	29	252	4	
Hospital-lane	25	218	16	
Brandy-lane, and Fuller's-lane	59	424	-	
Malachy's-lane	22	151	5	
Gallows-green-lane	110	623	4	
Lough-lane	30	172	4	
Blueboy-lane, or Stephen's-street, including Blue-school } for 20 boys	41	347	38	
Little-blue-boy lane	18	142	6	
From a little above Gillabbey or Love-lane, to corner of } Gillabbey-walk, and Brandy-lane	43	252	44	
From corner of do. to Hayes's brewery	67	461	242	
Gillabbey-lane, Gillabey-walk, and Water-lane	32	182	11	
Fitton's-lane	14	166	32	
Globe-lane, Crosse's-green, and Blackmore-lane	18	153	64	
	2,794	18,755	5,169	

Alms
Houses.
10

Total, 23,924, at 8 $\frac{268}{138}$, on an average each house.

Catholics to Protestants, 3 $\frac{2448}{1728}$ to 1, or upwards of 7 to 2.

Baptisms of Roman Catholic children in these parishes, (constituting together one Roman Catholic Benefice, denominated the South Parish,) average of 4 years, 1290. — Marriages, average of 4 years, 245. Baptisms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{1}{3}$ to 1.

North Parish.

Baptisms of Roman Catholic children, average of 3 years, 1089. — Marriages, average of 3 years, 214. Baptisms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{26}{33}$ to 1.

Middle Parish.

Baptisms of Roman Catholic children, 331. — Marriages, 59. Baptisms to Marriages, 4 $\frac{17}{8}$ to 1.

Total number of Baptisms, 2710. — Total number of Marriages, 538. Baptisms to Marriages, 5 $\frac{10}{33}$ to 1.

In the Baptisms are included those of the children of Roman Catholics, residing in the liberties of the city of Cork.

At the rate of 1 baptism to 23 souls, the above number evinces the existence of 62,330 Roman Catholics in the city and liberties of Cork.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION and other STATISTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES of the Diocese of CORK.

Parishes or Unions.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year.	No. of Deaths in the last Year.	State of the Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Masons, Slaters, and Carpenters.	Higher Rent of Land per Acre.	Lower Rent of Land.	Average Rent per Acre.	Public Roads.	Natural Manures.
Dunmanway	James Crewey	1,245	352	140	Increasing rapidly	0 11 1/2	2 6 to 3 0	4 0 0	0 11 4 1/2	5 8 1/2	tolerably good	Sea Sand brought 16 or 20 Miles
Cahiregh	Timothy Sweeney	650	65	30	Increasing	0 8 to 1 0	3 9 1/2	Landlet in Lot	0 10 0	1 15 0	Do.	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds; Lime.
Carrigaline	John Callinane	456	286	-	Do. rapidly	1 4	3 9 1/2	+ 10 0 0	0 18 0	5 9 0	good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Passage and Shanbally	Richard Walsh	1,076	-	-	Increasing	0 10	2 8 1/2	3 8 3 0	7 6 1 17 10 1/2	Do.	Do.	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Trillick and other Parishes	Thomas O'Connor	780	170	-	Increasing	-	-	7 0 0	-	-	Do.	Sea Sand.
Bandon	Thomas Shinnick	1,113	290	98	-	-	-	3 0 to 3 3	0 16 0	1 18 0	Do.	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Deerf Serges	fame	849	185	48	-	-	-	3 3	0 12 6	3 16 3	tolerable	Lime.
Kilbrogan	fame	341	68	40	Do.	1 1	3 3	1 10 0	10 0	1 0 0	good	-
Parishes annexed	Timothy Hurley	1,200	305	-	Do.	6 to 1 0	3 3	1 10 0	7 0	18 6	Do.	-
Ovens, Aglis, and Dyfart	William O'Brien	656	180	-	Do.	1 1	-	3 0 0	7 0	13 6	bad	Sea Sand.
Ballymartle, &c.	Cornelius Allen	500	86	-	Do.	0 8 to 0 10	2 2 to 3 3	3 13 0	0 13 0	3 0	tolerably good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Ballyfeard	Cornelius O'Crowly	about 500	-	-	Do.	1 1	-	-	-	-	-	Sea Sand; Lime.
Clontarf	John Allen	500	100	-	Do.	0 8 to 0 10	2 2 to 3 3	3 13 0	0 13 0	3 0	tolerably good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Kilbarnogue	Denis O'Sullivan	500	290	-	Do.	1 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ballyhafing	Cornelius O'Crowly	834	130	50	Do. rapidly	0 8 to 0 10	2 2 to 3 3	3 13 0	0 13 0	3 0	tolerably good	Sea Sand and Sea Weeds.
Glanmire and Carnaror	T. Lane	623	120	30	Do. do.	1 1	3 0 to 3 3	4 11 0	1 5 0	2 18 0	not bad	Lime.
Rushclara and Part of Kilbritain	Nicholas O'Riordan	600	-	-	Do. do.	0 5 or 1 0	3 3	4 11 0	7 0	2 9 0	good	Sea Sand.
Carrigrohane	Jeremiah Coughlan	797	-	-	Increasing	1 1	3 9 1/2	3 8 3 0	5 0	1 16 7 1/2	bad	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Inchicmany	Denis Bernard	600	136	-	Do.	0 6 1/2	3 0	3 0 0	1 2 9 2 1 4 1/2	1 4 1/2	tolerable	-
Kilnagloy	Patrick Murphy	462	161	-	Do.	0 9	3 9 1/2	3 0 0	0 10 0	4 5 0	in general bad	Sea Sand; Weeds; Lime.
and Brinnah	Michael O'Falvey	559	160	-	Do.	0 9	2 6	0 18 0	4 0	11 0	bad	Lime.
Durif and Kilcrobane	John Murphy	605	-	-	Do.	0 6 1/2	2 8 1/2	2 0 0	10 0	1 5 0	partly good, partly bad	-
Templemarin and Maragh	James Haly	600	160	30	Do.	0 10	3 3	3 8 3 0	10 0	1 19 1 1/2	partly good	Sea Sand; Sea Weeds.
Douglas and Ballygarran	Florence Crowley	540	106	37	Do.	0 9	2 8 1/2	1 14 1 1/2	5 0	19 6 1/2	good	Lime.
Ivelery	Cornelius M'Swiny	703	168	53	Do.	0 5	2 2	1 14 1 1/2	2 0	18 0 1/2	bad	-
Enniskean	McNamara	948	-	-	Do.	0 10	3 3	3 0 0	10 0	1 15 0	bad in general	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Kinneigh	William O'Shea	1,347	371	45	Do.	0 10	3 0	4 0 0	6 0	2 3 0	good	Sea Sand and Weeds.
Kilmore	James Nugent	1,100	270	-	Do.	1 1	3 3	5 13 9 0	9 0	3 1 4 1/2	in general bad	Sea Sand; Lime.
Killmichael	Denis O'Sullivan	1,250	300	-	Do.	1 1	3 3	4 11 0	1 2 9 2 16 10 1/2	Do.	very bad	Gravel and Coral Sand.
Drumaleague and Drinagh	M. Keane	587	107	-	Do.	1 1	3 3	-	-	-	-	-
Skull	Daniel O'Crowly	1,407	509	48	Do.	1 1	3 3	-	-	-	-	-
Ringrone and Ballinadee												
Moriddy												
Canaway and Kilburry												
Cahirlog												
Kilmacomogue or Bantry												

Total Number of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics 33,715
 Average do. in each Union or Parish 848 1/2
 Total Number of Houses in the Unions or Parishes from whence Returns of Baptisms were sent 20,215
 Total Number of Inhabitants in these at six on an Average to each House 121,290
 Total Number of Baptisms 5,078
 Baptisms to Numbers 1 to 23 1/2

Average daily Wages of Masons, Slaters, Thatchers, and Carpenters 6. 4
 Do. of Labourers 0 3 2 1/2
 Average Rent of Land, per Acre, exclusive of Town Parks 0 0 11 1/2
 The Wages of dieted Artificers and Labourers are excluded. They are marked in the Return thus *. The Town Parks excluded are marked thus +.

No. XIX.—continued.

OBSERVATIONS in the Parochial Returns of the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of
CORK.*Union of Ringrone and Ballinadee.*

Almost the whole of this Union is cultivated. There is very little barren land in it. The rent of the land has doubled since the year 1782. There are but 14 houses in the Union inhabited by Protestants. The Roman Catholics occupy 1,100 houses.

Parish of Skull.

One half of this parish is uncultivated. The rent of land has more than trebled since 1782. In some places it has quadrupled. The average number of marriages in the years 1805, 6, 7, was 97 $\frac{1}{2}$. The average number of baptisms 391 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Parish of Kilmore.

The rent of land has nearly trebled in every part of the parish since 1782.

Parish of Kilmichael.

This parish contains 10,000 acres of arable and pasture land, 10,000 waste and 1000 irreclaimable. The rent of land has doubled since 1782. There are but 12 houses inhabited by Protestants. The Roman Catholics inhabit 703.

Parish of Ivelary.

This parish contains 9000 acres of arable and pasture land, 4000 of waste land, and 5000 of barren land. The rent has doubled since 1782.

Parish of Douglas.

All the land in this parish is good arable and pasture. The rent has quadrupled since 1782.

Union of Templemartin and Maragh.

In this parish there are 68 houses inhabited by Protestants, and 758 by Roman Catholics.

Union of Durus and Kilcrobane.

Two-thirds of the land of this parish are arable, one-third waste. The rent has trebled since 1782. The births in this parish are to the deaths as 4 to 1.

Union of Inishannon and Brinnagh.

There is no irreclaimable land in this parish. It is for the most part cultivated.

Union of Rathclaran and Kilbrittan.

All the land in this parish is arable or pasture. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Ballinbassig.

This parish comprises a large tract of mountain, apparently incapable of cultivation.

Parish of Ballymartle.

In this parish there are only 12 houses inhabited by Protestants. The houses of the Roman Catholics amount to 500.

Union of Owens, Aglis, and Dyfart.

There is no barren land in this Union. The number of houses inhabited by Protestants is 15. The number inhabited by Roman Catholics is 656. The average number of souls in each house is 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. The males exceed the females by 160.

Parish of Kinsale.

There is very little uncultivated land in this parish. The rent has more than doubled since 1782.

In

No. XIX.—continued.

Union of Bandon, Desertferge and Kilbrogan.

In this Union there are 25,640 acres; of which 2,191 are in brakes or bogs, the rest are cultivated. The Protestants inhabit 511 houses; the Roman Catholics 2,305; so that allowing six persons to each house, which is below the average number, the quantity of land to each individual, on an average, is about 1½ acre English measure.

Union of Carrigrohan, Inchhinny and Kilmaglory.

The rent of land in this parish has trebled, and in several parts quadrupled since 1782. There has been an increase of 1000 souls in 3 years.

Union of Traction and four other Parishes.

Almost every acre of this union is under tillage.

Union of Passage and Shanbally.

Not an acre of this union is irreclaimable. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Carrigoline.

There are not 100 acres uncultivated in this extensive parish. Generally speaking, the rent has trebled since 1782. There are 11,377 acres in the Protestant parish of Carrigoline; of these 1,196 were under potatoes, and 1751 under grain in the year 1806. The Roman Catholics throughout this parish are to the Protestants as about 9 to 1.

Union of Dunmonway and Fanlobbus.

One half of this union is cultivated, three-eighths rough pasture and reclaimable, and one-eighth irreclaimable. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Cabiragh.

This parish contains about 12,000 acres, one half of which is waste. The Protestants occupy six houses; the Roman Catholics 650.

Parish of Cabirlog.

All the land in this parish is either arable or pasture. The rent has trebled since 1782.

Parish of Bantry.

There are about 23,000 acres in this parish, 5000 of which are uncultivated, and 6000 barren. The rent has more than doubled since 1782. The Protestant houses are in number 112; those of the Roman Catholics 1,407. The annual average number of baptisms in five years, ending 1807, was 486. The annual average number of marriages same time was 56.

		Roman Catholic Houses.	Protestant Houses.
Bantry,	-	1,407	112
Cahiragh,	-	650	6
Bandon, &c.	-	2,308	511
Oven, &c.	-	656	15
Ballymartle	-	500	12
Templemartin, &c.	-	758	68
Kilmichael	-	793	12
Ringrove, &c.	-	1,100	14
		8,082	750
			10 ⁹⁷ / ₁₁₃ to 1

No. XX.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION and other STATISTICAL CIRCUMSTANCES of Part of the Diocese of LIMERICK.												
Parishes.	Catholic Clergymen.	Houses inhabited by Catholics.	No. of Souls in different Classes.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year.	State of Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Carpenters, Masons, and Thatchers.	Highest Rent of Land per Acre.	Lower Rent of Land per Acre.	Average Rent per Acre.	State of public Roads.	Natural Manures.
1. Killeedy, Effin	David Lee	393	75	112	Increasing.	0 8 & 1 1	1 1	5 2 6 3 0 0	0 0 0 0	4 1 3	Good	Limestone-gravel.
2. Rathkeal	Charles Tuohy	1,500	45	260	Do.	1 1 & 1 7 1/2	2 8 1/2 +	10 0 0 3 0 0	0 0 0 0	6 10 0	Do.	Limestone.
3. Killeedy	Nicholas Shea	550	77	200	Do.	1 1	-	3 10 0 0 10 0	0 0 0 0	2 0 0	Do.	Do. Sand.
4. Bruree, St. Coleman's	Daniel O'Sullivan	600	66	100	Do.	1 1	2 8 1/2	5 6 0 1 0 0	0 0 3 3 0	3 3 0	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Earth.
5. Bruff	Darby Bulkeley	1,000	66	250	Do.	1 1	3 3	4 11 0 2 0 0	0 0 3 5 6	3 5 6	Do.	Limestone.
6. Chapel Ruffell, Kildimo	Michael Copps	600	111	147	Do.	0 8	2 8 1/2	4 11 0 1 2 9	2 9 2 16 10 1/2	2 16 10 1/2	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Earth.
7. Kilfinian, Gratoe	Darby Cronin	335	72	99	Do. rapidly	0 8	3 9 1/2	5 13 9 1 2 0	3 7 10 1/2	3 7 10 1/2	Do.	Limestone-gravel, Marble.
8. Nantinne	Patrick Halpin	800	53	112	Increasing	0 10	2 2	5 0 0 1 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	Do.	Limestone.
9. Kilcolman	Richard Harnett	1,76	59	367	Rather on the increase	1 1	3 0	5 0 0 0 15 0	2 17 6	2 17 6	Do.	Limestone-gravel in small Quantities.
10. Coolcappa	James Ambrose	220	65	42	Increasing	1 0	2 0	3 8 3 2 5 6	2 16 10 1/2	2 16 10 1/2	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Earth.
11. Rathcabl	David Sullivan,	403	89	95	Do.	1 0	2 0	4 11 0 2 16 10 1/2	3 13 11 1/2	3 13 11 1/2	Indifferent	Limestone and Gravel.
12. Kneadserry	Philip Sheahan	450	100	84	Do.	0 6 1/2 & 1 0	2 2	4 11 0 1 0 0	2 15 6	2 15 6	Good	Do.
13. Mahunagh	Michael Sheahan	386	73	76	Do.	0 6 1/2 & 1 0	2 2	3 8 3 2 0 0	2 14 1 1/2	2 14 1 1/2	Do.	Lime and Sand.
14. Drumcolahir	Thomas O'Cleary	300	43	80	Do.	1 0	2 8 1/2	5 13 9 0 10 0	3 1 10 1/2	3 1 10 1/2	Do.	Limestone-gravel, & Marble.
15. Abbeyfeale	Thomas O'Neil	550	90	104	Do.	0 10 & 1 0	2 6	4 0 0 1 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	Do.	Earth.
16. Croom	Lawrence Hartnett	540	95	96	Do.	0 10 & 1 0	2 8 1/2	+ 6 0 9 1 0 0	3 10 0	3 10 0	Do.	Do.
17. Adare	John Lee	460	93	102	Do.	0 8 & 1 1	2 2	+ 9 0 0 1 8 0	5 4 0	5 4 0	Do.	Do.
18. Cahirary, Donoughmore	Fitzgerald	527	74	162	Do.	0 8	2 2	5 10 0 0 17 0	3 3 6	3 3 6	Do.	Do.
19. Fedamore	Andrew Ryan	506	82	91	Do.	0 8	2 2	4 0 0 1 10 0	2 15 0	2 15 0	Do.	Do.
20. Ardagh	James Corbett	280	54	61	Declining	0 6 1/2 & 1 1	3 9 1/2	5 13 9 4 0 0	4 16 10 1/2	4 16 10 1/2	Do.	Limestone and Gravel.
21. Kilmallock, Ballingaddy	John Trant, Timothy McCarthy	456	78	136	Rather on the increase	0 8 & 1 1	3 3	3 8 3 0 10 0	1 19 1 1/2	1 19 1 1/2	Do.	Sand.
22. Glanroe	Michael Kieley	220	68	103	Increasing slowly	1 0	-	5 10 0 1 17 0	3 13 6	3 13 6	Do.	Limestone.
23. Balinvana	George de Lacy	467	66	85	Increasing	1 0	-	5 0 0 1 2 9	3 1 4 1/2	3 1 4 1/2	Good	Sand.
24. Meelick	William Ryan	450	78	160	Do.	0 8 & 1 1	3 9 1/2	5 0 0 1 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	Do.	Sand.
25. Kilfinian, Ardpatrick	John Sheehy	600	66	100	Do.	1 1	2 8 1/2	5 0 0 1 0 0	3 0 0	3 0 0	Do.	Sand.

Total Number of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics 12,769
 Average Number in each Union or Parish 332 1/4
 Number of Inhabitants at six on an Average to each House 76 2/4
 Number of Baptisms 2,893
 Baptisms to Numbers 1 to 26 1/4

Average daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, Slaters, and Thatchers 6 2 9 1/4
 Do. of Labourers 0 0 10 1/4
 Average Rent of Land per Irish Acre, exclusive of Town-Parks 3 1 11 1/4
 Do. English Acre 1 18 3/4
 The Wages of dieted Artificers and Labourers are excluded.

No. XX.—continued.

Diocese of LIMERICK continued.							
Parishes.	Rise of Rent since 1782.	Absentee Landlords.	All the Land in the following Parishes is excellent Arable Meadow and Pasture, except a small Bog in the Parish of Rathkeal.	The Land in the following Parishes chiefly good Arable Meadow and Pastures, there are, however, some considerable Tracts of uncultivated Land.	Parishes.	Baptisms.	Burials.
Kilbreedy and Effin	£. s. d. 3 8 3 on best Land 2 0 0 on worst do.	2	Rathkeal	Kilbreedy and Effin	Rathkeal -	260	156
Rathkeal	from 1 10 0 to 2 0 0 and from 3 8 3 to 5 13 9				Bruff -	250	80
Bruree and St. Colman's	Rent trebled	3	St. Colman's	Nantynane	Kildimo -	147	52
Bruff	Rise 10s.				Cratloe -	99	11
Chapel Ruffel and Kildimo	Doubled	4	Chapel Ruffel, Kildimo and Coolcappa	Rathcabil	Rathcabil -	95	33
Cratloe and Kilfintinan	from 0 10 0 to 3 0 0 and from 2 0 0 to 5 13 9				Knockaderry	84	21
Kilcolman and Coolcappa	more than doubled	5	Knockaderry	Mahunagh	Mahunagh -	76	27
Rathcabil	trebled				Drumcolahir	80	60
Knockaderry	doubled	1	Adare	Abbyfeale	Abbyfeale -	104	52
Mahunagh	Rise 2l. 16s. 10½d.				Cahirary and	96	25
Abbyfeale *	doubled	1	Cahirary and Donoughmore	Ardagh	Croom -	96	25
Croom	Rise 1l. per Acre				Fedamore	162	18
Fedamore	doubled	2	Kilmallock and Ballingaddy	Glanroe	Adare -	162	47
Ardagh †	from 1 14 1¼ to 5 13 9				Balinvana	91	21
Kilmallock and Ballingaddy	Rise 3l. 10s.	3	Union of Kelfintinan and Cratloe.	Arable Meadow and Pasture	Ardagh -	61	19
Balinvana	from 0 10 0 to 3 0 0 and from 3 0 0 to 6 0 0				Woods and barren Land	160	21
Meeick and Parteen	trebled	1	Union of Meeick and Parteen.	Arable Meadow and Pasture	1,867		643
Kilfinan and Ardpatrick	- - - -				Arable Meadow and Pasture	Acres.	
Glanroe	- - - -	1	Union of Meeick and Parteen.	Boggy Mountain	Number of Inhabitants		at six to a House 76,614
Adare	- - - -				Woods and barren Land	Acres.	
Killeedy	- - - -	1	Union of Meeick and Parteen.	Arable Meadow and Pasture	Baptisms to Burial 2 ½ ¼ to 1		Burials to Numbers 1 to 77 ½ ¼ ¼
					Bog and uncultivated Land	Acres.	
		1	Union of Meeick and Parteen.	Barren Land	Burials to Numbers 1 to 77 ½ ¼ ¼		
						Acres.	
		28			5,644		

* Not a Protestant in this Parish.

† Only four Protestants in this Parish, containing 280 Houses, inhabited by Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholic Population, and other Statistical Circumstances of the Diocese of Ross, in the County of Cork.

Parishes.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Catholics inhabiting by Houses.	No. of Catholic inhabitants.	No. of Protestant families.	No. of Catholic families.	Total Catholic souls.	No. of Children baptised in the last year.	Total of Protestant souls.	State of the Population.	Face of the Country, and State of Cultivation.
Clonakilty	William O'Brien	1784	10,958	3	282	11,240	453	867	Increasing rapidly.	1. Clonakilty, &c. All reclaimable, except turbaries.
Rosscarberry	Daniel Burke	1267	7617	2	60	7677	304	182	Increasing.	One-tenth pasture, the rest cultivated.
Shibbereen	John Kirby	1631	9786	5	-	9786	443	5	Do.	2. Rosscarberry. Little pasture; all reclaimable, and generally cultivated.
East Barryroe	David Walsh	1167	6712	-	63	6775	407	200	Stationary.	3. Shibbereen One-tenth pasture. Much cultivated, all reclaimable.
West Barryroe	James Keliher	841	5424	-	12	5436	227	25	Increasing.	4. East Barryroe. All highly cultivated.
Timoleague	Stephen Tobin	728	4878	1	50	4928	154	116	Do.	5. West Barryroe. No pasture; all reclaimable, and cultivated.
Kilmkeen	John Davies	800	4529	-	47	4576	173	115	Do.	6. Timoleague. One-eighth pasture, the rest cultivated.
Kilmacabee	John Power	1000	6000	1	41	6041	276	127	Do.	7. Kilmkeen. One-fourth pasture; all reclaimable; some parts cultivated.
Castlehaven	Daniel Connel	1349	7756	3	60	7816	312	183	Do.	8. Kilmacabee. One-sixth pasture; more than half cultivated.
Aghadown	John Daly	1060	6360	2	121	6481	288	432	Do.	9. Castlehaven. One-eighth pasture; the rest cultivated.
Cape Clear, and Shirkin	William Manning	300	1500	-	9	1509	71	40	Stationary.	10. Aghadown. One-tenth pasture; one-fifth pasture unreclaimable; the rest cultivated.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, by the Reverend Dr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, P. P. of Clonakilty.

The Population of this District is rapidly increasing, particularly in those parts which are most remote from the sea-coast. Within a few miles of the shore, cultivation has already reached that point of perfection which appears to set improvement at defiance. The surplus of the growing population is disposed of either by emigration to England, the last resource of the wretched peasant; or by removal to the interior parts of the country, where there are still vast tracts of reclaimable land uncultivated. The ground is not naturally good in any part of this district. It owes almost every thing to the unremitting industry of a hardy laborious people. Immense quantities of potatoes are cultivated along the coast, and sent for sale to the Dublin market. Flax also is raised here in great abundance; even the poor have their little plantations of this useful article, the manufacturing of which gives employment to the female part of their families through the year. The labourer who has no farm, bargains with some farmer in his vicinity for as much land as may be necessary for the

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, by the Reverend Dr. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, P. P. of Clonakilty.

growth of a certain measure of flax-need. In three months the flax is fit to meet the first proceeds of its manufacture. It is sown, by the persevering industry of the rising generation, prepared for the wheel, and when spun, it is sent to the markets of Clonakilty and Shibbereen, where from 4 to 6000 are weekly laid out in the purchase of linen thread. There are at least 900 looms, in the above parishes, constantly employed in weaving a coarse species of linen called Vitry, which is bought on commission by London merchants, who use it in packing goods for foreign markets. The parishes are generally named by the Catholic clergy, after the principal town therein. The united parishes, for instance, of Kilgarra, Kilmacross, Templebrian, Island, Defart, &c. are called the parish of Clonakilty, though no such parish appears in the ecclesiastical map. In many of the parishes in the table the number of souls exceeds the number of acres.

Parishes.	Wages of Labourers.	Wages of Masons, Carpenters, Slaters.	Highest rent of Land.	Lowest rent of Land.	Average rent of Land per acre.	Natural Manures.	Public Roads.	Rife of rent since 1782.	No. of Absentees residing in England.
Clonakilty	4 to 1	3 0	2 16 10	0 14 0	1 15 5 1/2	Sea sand and weeds.	Partly good.	Threepfold.	-
Rosscarberry	6 to 0	3 0	2 10 0	0 7 0	1 8 6	Do.	Neglected.	From 18s.	-
Shibbereen	0 10	2 8 1/2	2 10 0	0 10 0	1 10 0	Do.	In general bad.	Threepfold.	-
East Barryroe	0 10	3 0	2 10 0	0 1 0	1 15 0	Do.	Bad.	From 16s.	1
West Barryroe	0 10	3 0	2 10 0	0 6 14	1 12 0	Do.	In general bad.	Twofold.	-
Timoleague	6 to 0	3 0	3 8 3	0 6 8	1 17 5 1/2	Do.	Good.	From 12s.	-
Kilmkeen	6 to 0	2 8 1/2	1 14 1 1/2	0 3 9 1/2	0 18 11 1/2	Do.	Bad.	From 10s.	-
Kilmacabee	0 6 to 1	2 8 1/2	3 8 3	0 1 0	1 14 7 1/2	Do.	In general bad.	Threepfold.	1
Castlehaven	0 6 to 1	2 8 1/2	2 16 10 1/2	0 10 0	1 13 5 1/2	Do.	Good.	Doubled.	2
Aghadown	0 10	2 8 1/2	2 5 6	0 10 0	1 5 3	Do.	Bad.	Do.	-
Cape Clear, and Shirkin	0 10	-	2 0 0	0 2 0	1 1 0	Do.	None.	Do.	-

Total number of Houses, 18,422
 Do. of Inhabitants, 74,557
 Average number to each House, 6 1/3
 Number of Roman Catholics, 72,265
 Number of Baptisms, 3,008
 Baptisms to numbers, 1 to 24 1/2

Average number of Roman Catholics in each parish, 6,569 2/3
 Roman Catholics to Protestants, 31 1/2 to 1
 Daily wages of Masons, Slaters, Carpenters, 0 2 10
 Do. of Labourers, 0 0 9
 Average rent of Land, 1 13 2

No. XXIII.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION, &c. in five UNIONS OF PARISHES in the Diocese of CLOYNE, in the County of CORK.

Unions or Parishes.	Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics.	Baptisms in the last Year.	State of Population.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Daily Wages of Slaters and Carpenters.	Highest Rent of Land.	Lowest Rent of Land.	Average Rent of Land per Acre.	Natural Minerals.	English Acre Do. Irish one Do. Do. + Town Parks
Blarney and Whitechurch Macroon	John Lane	532	72	Rather increasing	s. d. 1 1	s. d. 3 3 2 8½	£. s. d. 4 11 0	£. s. d. 0 16 0	£. s. d. 2 13 6	Limestone.	English Acre
	James Roche	772	109		Do. greatly	0 8 to 1 1	3 0	5 13 0	2 0 0		3 16 10½
Kildorrery Charleville Mallow and Rahau	John Lawton	850	200	Do. rapidly	0 9	2 8½	4 11 0	1 5 2 arable } 0 7 0 mountain }	2 2 0	Limestone.	Do.
	James Barry	805	184	Do. do.	1 1	2 2 & 2 8½	5 10 0	4 0 0	4 15 0		Do.
	Thomas Barry	1000	400		0 10	2 8½	+ 10 0 0	2 0 0	6 0 0		+ Town Parks

Total Number of Houses - - - - - 3,959
 Average Number of Houses in each Union or Parish - - - - - 871
 Number of Inhabitants, exclusive of those in Mallow and Rahau - - - - - 17,754
 Number of Baptisms with the same Exclusion - - - - - 565
 Baptisms to Numbers, 1 to - - - - - 3¼

Average daily Wages of Masons, Slaters, and Carpenters - - - - - £. s. d. 0 2 9½
 Do. of Labourers - - - - - 0 0 10½
 In all all these Parishes the Roads are very good.

OBSERVATIONS in the PAROCHIAL RETURNS.

Union of Blarney and Whitechurch.
 No irreclaimable land. 27 houses inhabited by Protestants. The rent of and is nearly three times higher than in 1782.
Parish of Macroon.
 In this parish there are 5006 acres of arable, pasture, and meadow, and 430 of bog. Rent of land has been trebled at least since 1782.

Parish of Charleville.
 All the land in this parish is fine arable and pasture, except five or six acre of bog. Rent has, for the most part, trebled since 1782.
Parish of Mallow.
 The rent has in most places trebled, in some quadrupled, since 1782.

Parish of Kildorrery.
 This parish is for the most part under tillage. There are some mountain lands, which are improving highly, and which promise to be the most valuable of the land when reclaimed, particularly for grass and meadow. There is scarcely any irreclaimable land in the parish. Rent much more than doubled since 1782.

In the parish of the Great Island, in the diocese of Cloyne, there are 1,066 houses; of which 140 are new; in the Town of Cove, the average number of inhabitants in each is 7½. Fifty-one are inhabited by Protestants. The highest rent in the island is 3 guineas: the lowest 1l. per English Acre.

No. XXIII. — continued.

PARISH of DUNGARVON, in the Diocese of LESMORE.										
Roman Catholic Clergymen.	No. of Houses inhabited by Roman Catholics.	No. of Baptisms in the last Year.	State of Population.	Highest Rent of Land per Acre.	Lowest Rent of Land per Acre.	Average Rent per Acre.	Daily Wages of Masons, Carpenters, and Slaters.	Daily Wages of Labourers.	Natural Manures.	Roads.
Thomas Keatinge Thomas Walsh	1,053	210	Increasing rapidly	£. s. d. 6 16 6	£. s. d. 1 2 9	£. s. d. 3 19 7½	£. s. d. 0 3 3	£. s. d. 0 1 4	Lime; Sea Sand; and Sea Weeds.	For the most part very bad.

The land in this parish is, for the most part, cultivated. There is a mountain, in the south part, which, at one side, is reclaimed to the top; the other is equally reclaimable.

NOTE.

On the accuracy of the return of the population of the diocese of Ross, the writer feels himself in possession of sufficient reason to rely, as likewise on that of many of the parochial returns in the general return of the diocese of Cork, and on that of some in those of other dioceses. For the accuracy of the rest he cannot take upon him to answer; but finds not sufficient reason to doubt it.

Before the enumerations were proceeded on, the writer observed to one of the superiors of the Roman Catholic clergy, through whose influence, kindly exerted, the business was pursued, that the detection of an exaggeration, in any one instance, would obviously have the effect of bringing discredit on all the returns; and, consequently, that of weakening whatever reasoning might be employed in behalf of the Roman Catholics, grounded on their numeral importance. To this it was replied, that, generally speaking, the parochial Roman Catholic clergy concerned themselves but very little in political speculations; and that there existed rather more reason to apprehend that they would under-rate, than over-rate the numbers of their parishioners; as, in the latter event, they would impress their bishop with the expediency of appointing coadjutors, who would participate in their scanty incomes, as well as their labours.

No. XXIV.

PROTESTANT SCHOOLS.									
ROYAL FREE-SCHOOLS.					NUMBER OF SCHOLARS.				OBSERVATIONS.
Lands.		Annual Value in the Year 1788.			Boarders.	Day.	Free.	Total.	
		£.	s.	d.					
Armagh	1,499 Profitable Acres	662	0	7	50	11	5	66	
Dungannon	1,654 Do., and 1,000 of Bog	975	18	7½	10	5	—	15	House accomodates 50.
Raphoe	1,070 Do.	335	14	5	2	13	5	20	House accomodates two only.
Enniskillen	2,537 Do.	1,271	7	10	5	3	16	24	House new, will accommodate 90.
Cavan	556 Do.	450	15	10	31	3	12	46	No House.
Banagher	204 Do.	163	0	0	—	—	—	—	No House.
Carysfort	About 300 mostly Mountain	60	0	0	—	—	40	40	House of Mud and Stone
Total 7,820 Acres.		3,918	17	3½				211	

Schools founded by Erasmus Smith.						Grammar Schools on private charitable Foundations.								
Number.	Annual Value of Lands.		Boarders.	Day Scholars.	Free Scholars.	Total.	Annual Value of Endowments.		Boarders.	Day Scholars.	Free Scholars.	Total.		
	£.	s.	d.				£.	s.	d.					
7	4,474	4	10	89	54	139	282	2,200	0	0	179	257	32	468
English Schools on private charitable Foundations.						Hibernian School - - - 390 Children						} Year 1807		
Annual Value of Endowments 7,400/.						Marine School - - - 132 Do.								
Number of Scholars 1,295.						Hospital King Charles II. 190 Do.								

DIOCESAN FREE-SCHOOLS, Year 1788.

Armagh—No House	Glendalagh—None	Ferns ———	Total Amount of Sa- laries - - - £616 5 7	
Cathell—House in ruins	Downe ———	Limerick—House in bad condi- tion		
Closter—No House	Connor—None	Ardfert—None		
Clogher—House out of repair	Elphin—House in repair	Meath—House not habitable		
Cork—Do.	Kildare—Do. repairing, for 20 Boarders	Offory—None		
Rofs—None	Killala—None	Raphoe—None		
Cloyne—Small House not fit for Boarders	Achonry—None	Tuam—House not habitable		
Londonderry—House in repair, fit for 12 Boarders	Killaloe ———	Enaghdoen—None		
Dromore—House in ruins	Kilfinora—None	Ardagh—House for 20 Boarders		
Dublin ———	Kilmore—None	Waterford—None		
	Leighlin—House for 20 Boarders	Li'more—None		
				Scholars. Boarders. Day. Free. Total Number. 46 253 25 324

Royal Free-schools	-	-	211	Scholars.
Erasmus Smith's Schools	-	-	282	
Grammar Schools	-	-	468	
English Schools	-	-	1,295	
Military Schools and Hospital	-	-	642	
Diocesan Free-schools	-	-	324	
Parish Schools	-	-	11,000	

Total Number of Scholars 14,222

In 29 dioceses, returned out of 34, there are 1,699 parishes, composing 838 benefices. There are parish-schools in 352 of these benefices, which are, in no instance, kept either by the incumbents or their curates, but by deputies or persons paid for that purpose, whose stipends do not exceed (a very few instances excepted) 40s. a year. In these schools 11,000 children are instructed. The price of instruction is from 1s. to 3s. per quarter.

No. XXV.

PROTESTANT CHARTER-SCHOOLS.

IN and before the year 1761, there were erected 47 charter-schools for the reception of 1,979 children, of Roman Catholic parents. The number in the schools, in that year, was 1,684. The then annual expence of the schools and nurseries was 9,052l. 1s. 9d. These schools are under the direction of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Charter-schools.

The average number of children in the schools for seven years, ended in 1783, was 1,587. The amount of their earnings was 985l. 13s. 8d. The net income of the society was 11,984l. 6s. 8d. The expenditure 12,413l. 14s. 9d.; diet of each child per year 3l. 16s. 0d.; clothing 1l. 5s.

Substance of the reports of the benevolent Howard and Sir Jerome Fitzpatrick:—"The children, generally speaking, are unhealthy; half-starved; in raggs; totally uneducated; too much worked; and, in all respects, shamefully neglected." Commons Journals.

The number of children in the schools, on an average of three years, ended in 1790, was 1,455. The then net annual income of the Society was 20,105l. 17s. 9d. The parliamentary grants to the society were as follows:

Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.	Years ended 25th March.	£.
1745	2,000	1767	14,000	1787	11,000	1798	13,000
7	1,000	9	14,000	8	10,000	9	13,000
9	1,000	1771	17,000	9	12,000	1800	13,000
1751	6,000	3	12,000	1790	12,000	1801	13,000
3	6,000	5	12,000	1791	12,000	2	19,731
5	12,000	7	14,000	2	12,000	3	19,562
7	14,000	9	14,000	3	12,000	4	21,062
9	6,000	1781	12,000	4	12,000	5	20,129
1761	14,000	3	5,000	5	13,000	6	22,621
3	20,000	5	9,000	6	14,000	7	22,621
5	14,000	6	9,000	7	13,000	8	23,270
							£561,996

Produce of the Duty on Hawkers and Pedlars from the Years 1747 to 1789 inclusive, assigned to the Society £50,277.

Total Receipts of the Society, exclusive of their Revenues arising from Estates, Legacies, Donations, &c. £612,273.

Number of Children in the Schools and Nurseries on the 29th September 1807	-	2,016
Establishment of the 33 Schools	-	1,840
Total Number of Children apprenticed	-	7,203
Number of Marriage Portions of 5l. paid	-	819

EXTRACT from the 31st Report of the Commissioners of Account. - INCORPORATED SOCIETY.

Charge.	£.	s.	d.	Discharge.	£.	s.	d.
Balance of last Account in Favour of the Public	8,914	10	8	Subsistence of Children in the Schools and Nurseries	25,967	12	7½
Parliamentary Grant, Session 1803	20,430	18	6	Furniture and Repairs	1,404	18	1
Interest on Funds in England	3,769	1	7½	Books, Printing, Stationary	532	15	8
Do. in Ireland	497	10	0	Sundry other Charges under 500l.	894	3	6½
Legacies, Donations, Subscriptions	769	12	9				
Rent of Estates	1,843	12	10				
Sundries	1,557	0	4½				
					£28,799	9	11½
	£37,782	6	8½				

If the number of children in these schools, in 1788, was equal to the present number, the total number of Protestant children, then at public schools in Ireland, was 15,891, or 6,001 less than the number of Roman Catholic children actually at the unendowed schools in the dioceses of Cloyne and Ross.

No. XXVI.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS in the Dioceses of CLOYNE and ROSS.
CLOYNE.

Districts.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Terms of Instruction.			per Qur.	Districts.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.	Terms of Instruction.			
			Reading.	Writing.	Arithmetic.					Reading.	Writing.	Arithmetic.	
			s. d.	s. d.	s. d.					s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	
Kildorrery	7	770	3 9½	5 5	6 6	per Qur.	Donoughmore	10	745	2 2	3 3	4 4	per Qur
Mitcheltown	23	632	3 9½	5 5	6 6		Glaurtane	4	441	2 8½	3 9½	6 0	
Glanworth	10	646	3 2	3 3	4 4		Castlelyons	8	484	2 8½	3 9½	4 4	
Fermoy	6	330	2 2	4 4	6 6		Whitchurch and Blarney	6	507	2 2	3 3	6 0	
Castletown Roche	10	480	3 3	3 3	4 4		Cloghroe and Iniscarra	4	247	2 2	2 8½	5 5	
Aghnakilly	5	344	2 2	2 2	4 4		Cloyne	6	377	3 3	4 4	3 9½	
Doneraile	6	588	3 3	4 10½	5 5		Mallow	9	434	5 5	6 6	5 5	
Rathcormack	4	405	2 2	2 2	3 9½		Ballinamona	7	581	2 2	3 3	8 1½	
Killagh	5	328	2 2	3 3	3 9½		Charleville	13	518	2 8½	1 9 9	4 4	
Youghall	10	572	2 2	3 3	5 5		Shandrum	7	405	2 2	2 8½	5 5	
Ballymacouda	5	307	2 2	3 3	4 4		Tullalee	6	438	2 2	3 3	4 4	
Great Island	4	400	3 3	4 4	6 6		Conna	6	389	2 2	3 3	4 4	
Kanturk	15	888	3 3	4 4	6 6		Buttevant	4	325	2 2	3 3	4 4	
Carrigtowhil	2	219	3 3	4 4	6 6		Ballyaura	3	275	2 2	3 3	5 5	
Kilnamatra	1	60	3 3	4 4	5 5		Ballyclough	7	649	2 2	3 3	5 5	
Macroom	6	248	3 3	5 5	8 1½		Castlemagner	6	470	2 8½	3 9½	5 5	
Aghaclog	3	110	2 2	2 2	3 3		Lifcarrol and Churchtown	4	389	2 2	3 3	5 5	
Aghina	3	130	2 2	3 3	4 4		Ballyourne	2	110	2 2	3 9½	4 4	
Castlemartyr	4	272	3 3	4 4	5 5		Clonmeen	2	150	2 2	3 9½	3 9½	
Azhada	8	506	3 3	4 4	6 6								
Kilworth	7	628	2 2	3 3	5 5								
Clusdrohid	4	228	2 2	3 3	5 0								
Lifgoold	3	232	2 2	3 9½	5 5								
Middleton	4	343	3 3	4 4	6 0								
						Totals 43	259	17,600					

ROSS.

Clonakilty	11	650	4 4	5 5	6 6	Aghadown & Islands	8	530	2 2	3 3	4 4
East Barryroe	3	260	3 3	4 4	5 5	Timoleague	3	380	2 2	3 3	4 10½
Kilmeen	3	359	3 3	4 4	5 5	Ross	6	260	2 2	3 3	5 5
Kilmacabee	5	346	2 2	3 3	4 10½	Castletownsend	4	503	3 3	4 4	5 5
Skibbereen	10	528	2 2	3 3	4 4	West Barryroe	4	476	2 8½	3 3	5 5
						Totals 10	57	4,292			

Cloyne and Ross.
Schools. 316
Scholars. 21,892

Average number of scholars in each school 69. Average terms for instruction in reading 9s. 11d. per year: for reading and writing 13s. 10d.: for reading, writing and Arithmetic 19s. 8d.

The writer was furnished with this Return by the Right Reverend Dr. Coppinger, Roman Catholic bishop of Cloyne and Ross; who observed, on delivering it, that it exhibited the number of children who attend school during the summer: that that number (as the writer knows) considerably exceeds the number of those who attend during the winter: that the latter was returned, on a late occasion, to the established clergy: that in several instances even that number was underrated, in consequence of an apprehension prevalent among the schoolmasters, that some measure disadvantageous to them was in contemplation; and that such measure was likely to be pursued in proportion as they should appear to have many scholars.

The following Return was transmitted to the writer by his much respected friend Lord Carberry:

Parishes.	Teachers' Names.	Terms per Quarter.		No. of Scholars.	Teachers' Names.	Terms of Instruction.		No. of Scholars.	
		Reading.	Writing and Accounts.			Reading	Writing & Arith.		
Timoleague	1, John Donohue	2 6	5 0	60	According to a return made by the High Constable in the year 1806, the barony of Barryroe appeared to contain 31,591 acres, English measure, 5,152 houses, and 18,798 inhabitants. The number of houses in the parish of Ardfield, as returned by the High Constables, was 370: the number returned the following year by the parish priest was 410, inhabited by Roman Catholics, and 3 by Protestants.	4 4	6 6	30	
Abbeymahon	2, { Eugene Davis Michael Deafy	2 6	6 0	80					* Andrew Harte
Lifsee	2, { James O'Brian Frederick Drifcoll	2 6	6 0	80		Timothy Donovan	4 4	6 6	60
Temple O'Malus	2, { Patrick M'Carthy Timothy Brian	2 6	5 0	90		Denis Lane	3 3	4 4	140
Ardfield	1, John Tobin	2 2	5 5	116					
Rathbarry	2, { Owen Sullivan Owen Sullivan, jun.	2 2	3 3	55					
Kilkerranmore	2, { Mary Callan Michael Hegarty	2 2	4 4	40					
				871					

In the parish of Carrigoline, in the Co. of Cork, there are 4 unendowed R. C. Schools, as underneath.

* Andrew Harte placed his son, at the age of 12 years, at a Protestant academy, at the expense of 30 guineas a year. He removed him at the age of 13 to another, and paid 40 guineas a year for his instruction and maintenance. The literary attainments of the youth have been such as qualify him eminently for the business of the counting-house, or for acting as an assistant to a school-master. His father has had him instructed with the view of qualifying him for the instruction of others.

In the town and neighbourhood of Kilsnane, in the county of Limerick, the writer found 310 children in 4 schools within 6 miles of each other. In the diocesis of Cork there are 2 or 3 Ro. Ca. schools in every parish, according to the report of the Right Rev. Dr. M'Carthy, coadjutor bishop of that diocese.

No. XXVI. continued.

Official Returns by Protestant Clergymen.	
Schools.	Province of Ulster—Diocese of Armagh.
Union of Headford, 399 Ro. Ca. children at school. Union of Ratoath, 20 Protestant children, besides those of the clergyman and clerk. 651 Protestant children in 47 parishes in the diocese of Meath. Rural Deanery of Wexford, not a Protestant child to be instructed.	In 9 schools, 202 Protestants, 76 Protestant Dissenters, 24 Roman Catholics. In 13 other schools 193 Protestants, 14 Dissenters, 86 Roman Catholics. Forkhill, 5 schools, two-thirds of the scholars Roman Catholics. Parish of Ardrea, Rev. Thomas Elrington Rector, 15 schools, 7 Protestant, 1 Presbyterian, 7 Roman Catholic. All masters use the same books, admit children of all religions, and teach them their respective catechisms.

No. XXVII.

FOUNDLING HOSPITAL, DUBLIN.									
	Children admitted.	DIED			Struck off the Books.	Apprenticed.	Eloped.	Given to Parents.	
		In the Nursery.	In the Country.	Of the Family.					
Average of three Years, ended in	1787	2,037	436	562	36	677	172	28	25
Do.	1796	2,130	1,344	305	43	355	195	10	45
In 12 Years, ended in	1796	25,352	11,663	5,119	47	6,442	1,936	170	424
Year ended	1798	1,750	977						
Do.	1800	1,717	460						
Do.	1805	1,934	359						
GROWN DEPARTMENT.									
Year ended in 1805.									
		In the House.	Died.	Eloped.	Apprenticed.	Given to Parents.	Sent to the Country for Health.		
		555	2	2	217	1	18		
At nurse in the country in 1763, 1,247 children. In the accounts of the hospital for the year 1765, there appears a deduction of 1,644. for wages for the nursing and maintenance of 411 children; the nurses not having produced them, and claimed their wages.		Infants in the Country 5th of Jan. 1804 - 3,825		} Died.	Remained in the Country 5th Jan. 1805 4,256				
		Sent to nurse, Year ended in 1805 - - 1,662			} 923	Expence of the Establishment, Year ended 1st Jan. 1805, 30,178l. 9s. 2d.			
		Sent to the Country for Health. - - 18							

Comparative View of the PROTESTANT and ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATIONS in the Diocese of ROSS, and in the following Districts, Parishes, &c. in the Provinces of MUNSTER, CONNAUGHT, and LEINSTER.

Diocese of Ross.	Protestants 2,292.	Roman Catholics 72,265.
Union of Ringrose - -	Protestant Houses - - - - 14	Roman Catholic Houses - - 1,100
Parish of Kilmichael - -	Do. - - - - 12	Do. - - - - 703
Union of Templemartin - -	Do. - - - - 68	Do. - - - - 758
Parish of Ballymartle - -	Do. - - - - 12	Do. - - - - 500
Parish of Ardfield - -	Do. - - - - 3	Do. - - - - 410
Union of Ovens, Aglis, &c. - -	Do. - - - - 15	Do. - - - - 656
Union of Bandon, &c. - -	Do. - - - - 511	Do. - - - - 2,305
Parish of Cahiragh - -	Do. - - - - 6	Do. - - - - 650
Parish of Bantry - -	Do. - - - - 112	Do. - - - - 1,407
South Parish, Cork - -	Protestants - - - - 5,169	Do. - - - - 18,755
Parish of Abbeyfeal - -	Protestant Houses none	- - - - 550
Parish of Ardagh - -	Do. - - - - 4	- - - - 280
Town of Clonmel - -	Protestant, Quakers, and Protestant Dissenters - - - - 3,000	Roman Catholics - - - - 9,000
Parish of Killarney - -	Protestant Houses - - - - 45	Roman Catholic Houses - - 1,600
Parish of Kilcummin - -	None	Do. - - - - 1,100
Union of Blarney - -	Protestant Houses - - - - 27	Roman Catholic Houses - - 532
Parish of Cove or Great-island - -	Do. - - - - 51	Do. - - - - 1,015
11 Parishes or Unions in the Diocese of Tuam - -	Protestant Families - - - - 85	Roman Catholic Families - 4,408
Parish of St. Mullin's - -	Protestants none	Roman Catholics - - - - 4,000
Town of Craignamana - -	Protestant Houses - - - - 4	Roman Catholic Houses between 4 & 500
Parish of Allen - -	None	No. of Roman Catholics not returned
Parish of Arleslin - -	Protestant Families - - - - 18	Roman Catholic Families about 1,800
Parish of Tullow - -	Do. - - - - 154	Do. - - - - 1,855
Parish of Castle Blakeney - -	Do. - - - - 3	Do. - - - - 300
Parish of Killyglafs - -	Do. - - - - 4	Do. not returned
Union of Shankill and three other Parishes - -	Do. - - - - 3	Do. do.
Parish of Kilbegnet - -	None	Do. do.
Parish of Tarmonbury - -	Scarcely any	Do. do.
Parish of Kilnamanagh - -	Do.	Do. do.
Union of Newport* - -	- - - - -	All Roman Catholics
Parish of Lusk - -	Do. - - - - 4	Do. not returned
Parish of Rathbeggan - -	None	Do. do.
Parish of Moyglue - -	Do. - - - - 15	Do. do.

Returns made by Roman Catholic Clergymen.
Official Returns made by Protestant Clergymen.

* According to a report made to the writer by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, the average number of Protestant Families in this union, and those of Westport, Castlebar, Ballinrobe, Tuam, and Athenry, is 50.

No. XXIX.

LETTER from a ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN of the Diocese of CORK.

SIR,

CONCEIVING, from some expressions which dropped from you when I had the honor of seeing you a few days ago, at Coolmore, that a faithful statement of the situation of the Roman Catholic clergy of this country would not be unacceptable to you, and desirous to give you every information on a subject, the minutiae of which are known solely to the clergy, I take the liberty of sending you a sketch of their truly degraded state, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, but which is not, I fear, as comprehensive as you may require.

The Roman Catholic church of Ireland is composed of four archbishops and 22 bishops. The archbishops take their titles, as in the Established Church, from Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Of the bishops eight are suffragans of Armagh, and are those of Ardagh, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, Meath, and Raphoe. Dublin has but three suffragans, Leighlin and Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory. Six are suffragans to Cashel, viz. Ardferret and Aghadoe, Cloyne and Ross, Cork, Killaloe, Limerick, and Waterford and Lismore. Four are subject to Tuam, viz. Achonry, Clonsfert, Elphin, and Killala. There is besides these the bishop of the united diocesses of Kilmacduagh and Kilsenora, the one in Connaught, the other in Munster, who is alternately suffragan of Tuam and Cashel.

As in the Established Church, we also have a dignitary in Galway called a *Warden*, who has nearly episcopal jurisdiction, and is no farther subject to higher powers than that he is liable to the triennial visitation of the archbishop of Tuam.

Every bishop has a vicar-general of his own appointment, who holds his office only *durante beneplacito*, and whose jurisdiction ceases on the death of the prelate.

Every diocess has also a dean, appointed by the *cardinal protector*, i. e. that cardinal in Rome who has the peculiar direction of all ecclesiastical matters appertaining to Ireland: and also an archdeacon, named by the bishop. These two are mere nominal dignities, having neither power nor emolument annexed to them.

On the death of a bishop, the clergy of the diocess are empowered by the canon law to elect a *vicar capitular*, who is invested, during the vacancy of the see, with episcopal jurisdiction: but if such election does not take place within a specified number of days after the demise of the bishop has been notified to them, the archbishop of the province may appoint of his own authority the vicar.

The clergy in the mean time assemble, and fix their choice on one of their own body, or sometimes on a stranger, and petition the pope, or (in technical language) *postulate*, that he may be appointed to the vacant see.

The bishops also of the province consult each other, and unite in presenting to the pope two or three men of merit, one of whom is usually appointed; for the recommendation of the prelates has always more weight in Rome than the postulation of the inferior clergy.

The appointment of the Irish bishops lies in the cardinals who compose the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. It takes place on Monday, and on the following Sunday is submitted by their secretary to the pope, who may confirm or annul the nomination at will; it very rarely, however, happens that he does not confirm it.

It formerly, sometimes, happened that Irish officers, in the service of foreign princes, influenced, in a great measure, through the recommendation of their courts, the congregation to the nomination of their friends and relatives. But as many inconveniences and abuses were discovered to arise from such influence, the congregation issued a decree (I believe in 1785), in virtue of which no foreign recommendation was in future to be attended to.

There is a custom common in all Roman Catholic countries, and frequently practised in Ireland, which, I believe, is not known in the Established Church, that of appointing assistant or coadjutor-bishops. In the event of old age, infirmity, or any accidental visitation of heaven, whereby a bishop is rendered incapable of attending to the laborious duties of his station, he may chuse any meritorious clergyman to be his coadjutor, and to succeed him at his death. His recommendation is almost invariably attended to in Rome, the object of his choice

choice is appointed and consecrated, taking his title from some oriental diocese, which title he relinquishes on his succeeding at the death of the old or infirm bishop whom he was appointed to assist. While retaining the oriental title, though in character, and by consecration a bishop, he is called a bishop *in partibus*, because the see, from which he takes his designation, being under the dominion of some eastern power, is styled, in the language of the office from which the bull of appointment is issued, to be *in partibus infidelium*.

The emoluments of the bishop arise from three sources, his parish, which is usually the best in the diocese, the licences, and the cathedraticum.

Of the parish emoluments I shall speak when treating of parish priests.

The licence is a dispensation granted by the bishop in the publication of banns, for which a sum, never less than a crown, and according to the abilities of the parties, amounting at times to half-a-guinea, or a guinea is paid. And as it very seldom happens that the parties are inclined to have the banns published, the generality are married by licence, which adds very considerably to the episcopal revenue.

The cathedraticum is a yearly sum, generally from two to ten guineas, given by each parish priest to the bishop, in proportion to the value of his parish, for the purpose of supporting the episcopal dignity. There is no law to enforce this tribute, nor no obligation of paying it; yet it is a very ancient practice, and is never omitted.

Parish priests are appointed solely by the bishop, and if collated, or having three years peaceable possession, they cannot be dispossessed, otherwise they may be removed at pleasure. A collation is a written appointment, signed by the bishop, by which he confers a parish on a clergyman, and confides it indefinitely to his care.

Coadjutors or curates are appointed also by the bishop, and are moveable at will.

The parish priest is supported by voluntary contributions, if that can be called voluntary which is established by ancient custom and general prevalence. His income springs from various sources. From *Easter* and *Christmas* dues. These consist in a certain sum paid by the head of every family to the parish priest for his support, and in consideration of his trouble in catechizing, instructing, and hearing the confessions of his family. The sum is greater or smaller in proportion to the circumstances of the parishioner. In the country parishes it is general a shilling at Easter, and a shilling at Christmas: some give half-a-crown, some a crown, and some few a guinea a-year. There is no general ecclesiastical law to enforce the payment of these trifles: but as the mode was struck out in what has been denominated the council of Kilkenny, under Rinnuccini, it has continued ever since to be practised, and from custom has acquired the force of law.

WEDDINGS.—The sum to be paid at these is different in different dioceses. In the diocese of Cork, by an order of the Bishop, no clergyman is warranted in demanding more from the parties than half-a-guinea; yet the usual sum universally given by the bridegroom is a guinea, in addition to which a collection is frequently made among the friends of the parties who have been invited, for the benefit of the parish priest.

The parochial fee for each christening is two shillings, or half-a-crown; besides which the sponsors usually give something more. Some trifle is generally given for visiting the sick; a shilling usually in the country.

In some parts of the country custom has established, that a certain quantity of hay and oats is sent by the more opulent parishioners to the clergyman; that his turf should be cut, his corn reaped, his meadow mowed, &c. gratis; and I have been credibly informed that in some parts of Ireland, bordering on the sea coast, a certain quantity of fish is given to the priest, in lieu of parochial dues.

The retribution for each mass is in this diocese two shillings; it is more or less elsewhere. But if mass should be said at the house of a parishioner, at his own request, he usually gives the clergyman a crown.

The general stipend of the curate is the third part of the general receipts of the parish. But in some instances, such as where the parish priest is old, infirm, or unacquainted with Irish, and consequently incapable of lessening in any great degree the labour of the curate, the latter frequently receives half the parochial emoluments.

STATIONS are meetings at some commodious house, appointed by the priest, for the convenience of such people as live at a distance from the chapel, where he hears their confessions, gives them communion, catechizes the children, &c. and it is at these half yearly meetings that he receives his Easter and Christmas dues.

A custom, originating, I suppose, either in the poverty of the priest, and his consequent inability to provide for himself, or in the hospitality of the Irish character, has from time immemorial existed, that a dinner is prepared for the priest at every house where he appoints a station, to which the householder's friends and neighbours are also invited. The bad effects of this custom are so glaring, that I have in my parish, though not without considerable difficulty, abolished it, and should indeed most cordially wish that the abolition were universal. For besides that drunkenness is the general consequence of such convivial meetings, the cost is very serious to the entertainer; and as there is no inconsiderable degree of proud emulation amongst

amongst the people in this particular, it not unfrequently happens that expences are incurred, to which the abilities of some are not always equal. Add to this the improbability of that decorum being preserved in those situations which the presence of their clergyman demands from the people; and the danger that either his reserve may be construed into pride, or his want of it produce such familiarity as may render all his efforts at instruction, admonition, or reform, of no avail. Another bad consequence (and in my mind of no small weight) is, that as man gradually imbibes the sentiments, and insensibly acquires the manners of those with whom he associates, the clergyman by his uninterrupted intercourse with the lower orders of the community, may lose that polish, which by education or observation he may have attained, and be by degrees totally unfitted for more select society.

The influence which the clergy formerly possessed over their flocks, and which was for a long series of years proverbial, was considerably diminished by the relaxation of the popery laws; it thenceforward continued gradually to decline, and received at length the *coup de grace* by the White Boy disturbances in 1786. At that period not only all former influence was lost, but even that confidence in their clergy, without which all their exertions must prove abortive, ceased in a great measure to exist among the people. Nor was it till the rebellion, and its consequent irritations and antipathies, opened their eyes, that this confidence began again to revive. The people then perceived that their priests were, in common with themselves, objects of persecution to one party, and of disregard and derision to the other; and that, though some of them had been unfortunately implicated, and some few deeply engaged in the rebellion, *all* were accused or suspected, and all condemned by party enthusiasm to one general, comprehensive, indiscriminate execration. They now, indeed, gratefully acknowledge, that to the admonitions of the clergy they are in a great degree indebted for having escaped the many miseries endured in the disturbed and rebellious parts of the kingdom, and are, I believe, at this moment more amenable than for twenty years back. The influence of the clergy is, however, still inconsiderable, indeed, if compared to what it was half a century ago; though never, perhaps (at least in this diocese) were the powers and energies of the clergy more forcibly and uniformly exerted in instructing, and particularly in catechizing, and attending to the minds and morals of the rising generation, than since the White Boy combination alluded to.

I have unintentionally strayed away from my original purpose, which was merely to exhibit in detail the poor and uncomfortable situation of the Roman Catholic clergy of this country. To the precarious and unsatisfactory nature of their subsistence it may, I think, be attributed, that comparatively few men of genteel connections, or early education belong to the body. For as parents naturally look forward in the establishment of their children to their comfort and affluence, it is not to be supposed that a man of opulence or respectability will educate his son for a state of life which presents nothing to his view but drudgery and dependance. And, therefore, it is highly probable, that, until some more desirable mode of provision shall be struck out for the Roman Catholic clergy, they will continue in general to spring from the inferior orders of society.

It was, I have heard, in the contemplation of the late ministry to add to their comforts by a liberal provision, proportioned to their respective rank and dignity in the church. But, however praise-worthy such intention may have been, and however beneficial in some points of view it may be considered, I must individually acknowledge, that to me such a provision has hitherto presented insuperable objections. The immediate consequence of the proposed plan would be, in my conception of events, the total annihilation of that confidence which the people should repose in their clergy, and without which the most sanguine efforts of these in their professional character must be ineffectual. It would, besides, most unquestionably, in many instances, be productive in the clergy of inactivity and negligence in the discharge of their duties. For as the priest has all the feelings, and sometimes many of the failings of human nature about him, can it be supposed that he will work with as much ardour for a maintenance, when it is secured to him from the Treasury, as he now does, when he is well aware that his livelihood depends on his own exertions? Is it not also possible, as it invariably happens wherever there is an established church (be its tenets and creed of whatever complexion you please), that the prospect of independance and respectability, rather than a view to the promotion of morality and religion, may allure to the ecclesiastical state? And that many, totally unqualified for the sacred profession, either through want of piety or learning, may thus force themselves into the ministry, to the disgrace and degradation of religion?

'Tis true, that, were the Roman Catholic clergyman independant of his flock, and not hanging, as is now the case, on their benevolence for his support, he might admonish with more authority his people, and without being suspected, as sometimes now happens, of interested views in urging them to the performance of their religious duties. But it is not to me very clear whether, were he paid or provided for by the Treasury, his advice and exhortations would not sound in the ears of his people more like the sentiments of a hireling, or a government spy, than the pure and disinterested effusions of a Christian pastor. At all events, though I have long revolved the subject, and maturely considered it under all its bearings, with as much impartiality and at-

attention as I could bestow upon it, I cannot for my part bring myself to relish the idea; I am, indeed, so heartily disgusted with innovations and revolutions of every kind, that I should prefer, by many degrees, the highly exceptionable and degraded footing on which I have hitherto, as a Roman Catholic clergyman, existed, to the risk of the many serious evils which possibly might, and would very probably, arise from such a change.

I have, you perceive, Sir, travelled *tout bonnement* over a great deal of ground. To an ordinary man I should feel inclined to make an apology for my intrusion: but when I reflect, that, however interesting otherwise the subject may be, it is to a patriot a matter by no means irrelevant to be intimately acquainted with the nature of the situation of a body of men, by whose principles and conduct the great majority of his country is guided, I should consider it idle to offer it. And though in the present state of things in this country it might by the generality of people be considered as idiotism, to you I do not hesitate to declare, that, making every due allowance for the birth, deficiency of early education, want of knowledge of the world, and the many other substantial disadvantages, with which the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland have to contend, their morality and good conduct in general is such, that however the derision and contempt of the world may attach to them, I have ever felt a conscious pride in belonging to the body.

For the liberty I have taken I shall not offer an apology, as it has been caused solely by your own condescension, in hinting something not unlike a wish to be informed of the minutæ which I have here detailed. I shall, therefore, abruptly have done, by assuring you of the sincerity with which I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

June 12, 1806.

* * * * *

Thomas Newenham, Esq. Coolmore.

No. XXX.

A LIST of Persons sentenced, in the County of CORK, during forty Years, to be hanged or transported : together with an Account of their Offences.

Years.	Persons executed.	Crimes.	Year.	Persons transported.	Crimes.	
1767	Thomas Carroll	Cow-stealing	1773	John Bell	House robbery	
	Jeffery Purcell	Murder		Silvester Driscoll	Sheep-stealing	
	John Ankle	Murder	1774	Patrick Fitzgibbon	Do.	
1769	William Stackpole	Robbery		John Desmond	House robbery	
1771	Robert Grady	Feloniously killing a calf		Patrick Henly	Burglary and felony	
	John Sullivan	Sheep-stealing		Michael Cohan	Cow-stealing	
1772	Jeremiah Sullivan	Highway robbery		James Kidney	Sheep-stealing	
	James Conway	House robbery	1775	Daniel Batee	Burglary and felony	
	Michael Cashman			Martin Doyle	House robbery	
	William Burke			John Mahony	Do.	
1773	William Hennessy	Robbery		Jeremiah M ^c Carthy	Pig-stealing	
	Owen Collody	Cow stealing		Edmond Scanlon	Burglary and felony	
1774	John Rohan	Murder		Darby Buckley	House robbery	
	Cornelius Carthy, otherwise Duff	Burglary and felony		Andrew Creagh	House-stealing	
	Dennis Carthy, otherwise Duff			John M ^c Auliff	Picking pockets	
	Daniel Carthy, otherwise Duff			1776	Dennis Donahy	Presented as vagabonds
	Dennis Carthy the younger		Do. do.		William Fox	
1775	Laurence Kennedy	Murder of his father	1777	Matthew M ^c Koy	Cow-stealing	
1776	Darby Murphy	Horse-stealing		Edmond Kennelly	Sheep-stealing	
	Edward Wiseman	Murder of Daniel Riordan		Darby Collins	Burglary and felony	
1777	John Henley otherwise Grady	Felony on White-Boy A ^c t		Andrew Brusnahan	Sheep-stealing	
	Owen Sullivan	The like	1779	Philip Roach	Horse-stealing	
	Robert Damer	Highway robbery		Mary Duane	Grand larceny	
1778	Timothy Desha	Burglary and felony		Thomas Mahony	Burglary and felony	
	John Meade	Burglary and felony	1780	James Justice	Highway robbery	
	Mathew Duggan					John Lees
1779	William Donovan	Cow-stealing	1781	Dennis Corkeran	Cow-stealing	
	Silvester Shanahan	House robbery		Catharine Donoghue	Murder of James Geran	
	James Roche	Sheep-stealing		John Shea	Burglary and felony	
1780	Robert Bible	Forcible possession		Owen Conner	Do. do.	
	Henry M ^c Neil	Murder of Patrick Bohilly	1783	Marks Cornby	Felony on Chalking A ^c t	
	Patrick Sullivan	Murder of Richard Sullivan		James Kingfton	Sheep-stealing	
	Daniel Danahy	Murder of Denis Donovan		James Walsh	Horse-stealing	
1781	Michael Scannell	Burglary and felony	1785	Patrick Ready	House robbery	
	John Dawly	Murder of James Geran		Mary Archdeacon	Do. Do.	
	Julian Geran					Margaret Leary
1782	John Green	Murder of Lydia Boundy		William Quinlan	Sheep-stealing	
	David Trafnane	Burglary and felony	1786	David Croncen	Cow-stealing	
	Thomas Barry				John Burke	Horse-stealing
	Dennis Linnehan				Timothy Tuohig	Cow-stealing
	John Coleman				John Edmonds	Horse-stealing
	Maurice Barry		Do. do.		Edmond Sweeny	House-robbery
	Bartholomew Leonard	Do. do.		Dennis Sullivan	Horse-stealing	
1783	Arthur Leary				Dennis Duane	House robbery
	Peter Kelly	Do. do.	1787	John Dealy	Burglary and felony	
1784	Daniel Neal	Murder of John Keleher		Michael Lynch	House robbery	
	Maurice Lacy	Highway robbery		John Hegarty		
1785	Dermot Madden	Do.		John Leary	Picking pockets	
	John Hymud	Horse-stealing		James M ^c Nelly		
	John Luoney	Murder of Timothy Donovan		Henry Sidley, otherwise Cap- tain Sidley	Administering oaths	
	Hugh Lawler	Cow-stealing		Michael Cooly	Felony on White-Boy A ^c t	
				John Shepherd, otherwise Barry	Horse stealing	

No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.

Years	Persons executed.	Crimes.	Years	Persons transported.	Crimes.
1786	John Mahony, otherwise Captain Fearnought	Burglary and felony	1787	Michael Riordan	Burglary and felony
	Edward Hourahan	Murder of Mr. Jackson	1788	John Lean	Murder of Joane Crowley
1787	William Barry	Burglary and felony		John Lyne	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Organ	Do. do.		Cornelius Cullinane	
	James Driscoll			Dennis Cullinane	Do.
	Dennis Reilly	Murder of John Curran, his wife, and two children		Ellen Burke	House robbery
	Patrick Powell			John Woodhouse	Do.
	John Casey	Highway robbery		Timothy Martin	Do.
1788	Patrick Clanchy	Burglary and felony		Mary Ahern	Stealing wearing apparel
	Owen M'Gwire			Daniel Bryan, otherwise Ryan	Horse-stealing
	John Sullivan	Do. do.	1789	Dennis O'Brien	Cow-stealing
	James Mahony			Charles Carthy	
	William Hendley		Thomas Tobin	Carrying away Mary Vale	
	Thomas Neale		John Hallahan	Cow-stealing	
	Laurence White		Dennis Driscoll	Robbing a bleach green	
1789	James Scanlon	Felony on White-Boy Act	1790	Samuel Kingfton	Sheep-stealing
	Edmond Murphy			Michael Lynch	Burglary and felony
	Dennis Murphy	Murder of Denis M'Carthy	1791	Mary Bergin, otherwise Armstrong	Picking pockets
	Daniel Dawly			Michael Kenny	House robbery
1790	Patrick Reddin	Burglary and felony		John Scott	Burglary and felony
1791	Joseph Radley	Murder of James Hurly		John Spears	House robbery
	Timothy Currig	Burglary and felony		Mary Ahern	Do.
	Dennis Bryan	The like		Cornelius Ryan	Perjury
	Laurence Hogan	House robbery		Daniel Collins, otherwise Crossagh	Burglary and felony
1792	Daniel Murphy	Murder of Denis Sullivan		Catharine Condron	House robbery
1794	Timothy Sheehan	Do. of Maria Roberts		Dennis Crowley	Sheep-stealing
1796	James Daly	Highway robbery	1792	Patrick Sullivan	House-robbery
	Henry Kane			George Boyd	Picking pockets
	Dennis Duane	Murder of Mr. O'Connor	1793	Thomas Fitzgerald	Administering oaths
1797	John Barry	Burglary and felony		Dennis Guiry	
1798	William Barry			Laurence Daly	Pig-stealing
	John Hoy	Murder of Richard St. George Manfergh St. George, and Jasper Uniacke		Bath. Donovan	Sheep-stealing
	Timothy Hickey			Darby Cohane	Do.
	Patrick Hynes	Conspiracy to murder Thomas Burke		Timothy Buckley	Do.
	John Ahern			William Sexton, otherwise Trafnane	Horse-stealing
	Stephen Moyles	Felony on White-Boy Act	1794	John Stack	Cow-stealing
	Richard Mooreca			Daniel Mahony	Do.
	John Clancy	Conspiracy to murder John Courtney, Esq.		Francis Deane	Coining
	Timothy Carthy			John Brien	Administering oaths
	Benjamin Brennan	Burglaries and felonies		William Savage	Sheep-stealing
	William Garde			John Griffin	House robbery
	Michael Garde	Burglary and felony		Dennis Sullivan	Administering oaths
	John Boland			John Keleher	Do.
	William Kearney	Conspiracy to murder Patrick Murphy		William Neale	Cow-stealing
	James Tehane			John Enraghty	Administering oaths
	Timothy Sheehan	Burglary and felony		William Magrath	
	Darby Keleher			Dennis M'Carthy	Bigamy
	Daniel Keleher	Burglaries and felonies		John Downing	Perjury
	Dennis Keleher			Terence Sweeney	Cow-stealing
	William Murphy	Conspiracy to murder Patrick Murphy		Humphry Moore	Highway robbery
	Michael Sheehan			Edward Smith	
	Darby Corkoran	Burglary and felony		James Smith	
	Robert Walsh			Michael Conway	Burglary and felony
	Patrick Shanahaw	Burglary and felony	1795	John Bennett	Plundering a vessel
	Dennis Sullivan, otherwise Ginger			Thomas Hayes	House robbery
	Cornelius O'Donnell	A rape		John Eagar	Administering oaths
	Daniel Rourke	Burglary and felony		William Clarke	House robbery

No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.

Years.	Persons executed.	Crimes.	Years.	Persons transported.	Crimes.
1800	John Fox -	Murder of Mathew Burke	1795	Darby Conner -	Murder of Cornelius Coakly
	Patrick Mullane -			Julian Connor -	
	James Sullivan -		Do. of Michael M'Carthy and Timothy M'Carthy	1797	Mary Donoghue -
1801	John Sullivan -	Burglary and felony			John M'Cann -
	John Cohane -		Do. do.		William Ryves -
	Edmund Barry -	Do. do.		1798	John Cronin -
	Daniel Riordan -		Do. do.		Roger Brien -
	John Roberts -	Do. do.			John Wholoan -
	James Young -		House robbery		Michael Fitzgerald -
	Timothy Falvey -	Murder of Robert Hutchinson			Jeremiah Conner -
	Humphry Crowly -		Burglary and felony		Henry Forbes -
1802	David Breen -	Do. do.			William Haly -
1803	William Dahill -		Murder of John Corkeran		Dennis Sullivan -
	John Regan, otherwise Down	Carrying away Catharine Desmond			David Keffe -
1805	David Clearly -		Murder of Timothy Lyon		Francis Fowlue -
	Timothy Buckley -	Murder of Cornelius Danahy			George Walsh -
	William Penfold, otherwise Pimpole -		Carrying away Mar. Biery		William Fowlue -
	John Mahony -	Murder of his wife			William Joyce -
	William Sampson -		Carrying away Ann Fitzgerald.		Timothy Kavenagh -
	Patrick Regan -	Horfe-stealing			Jeremiah Tehane -
	John Leaa -		Murder of Francis Cullen		Cornelius Sullivan -
	Edmond Morton -	Murder of Francis Cullen			John Shea -
1806	William Irvin -				Edmond Brooks -
				John Brooks -	
				Daniel M'Grath Sullivan	Felony on White-Boy A&
				Dennis M'Grath Fitzgerald	
				Cornelius Keath Sullivan	Picking pockets
				Michael Connors -	
				John Brufnahan -	Uttering forged notes
				Patrick Dooling -	
				James Curtin -	Do.
				Patrick Keffe -	
				David Gibbon -	Grand larceny
				Edmund Russell -	
				John Desmond -	Sheep-stealing
				William Desmond -	
				Darby Sullivan -	Horfe-stealing
				Anthony Clarke -	
				Ellen Wheelan -	Perjury
				Florence Driscoll -	
			1799	John Linnehan -	Horfe-stealing
				Michael Roche -	
				Honora Fitzgerald -	Perjury
				John Walsh -	
				John Kennedy -	Horfe-stealing
				James Carthy -	
				Cornelius O'Leary -	Stealing wearing apparel
				Mary Connelly -	
			1800	James Murphy -	Sheep-stealing
				Thomas Cafey -	
				Daniel Sheehan -	Burglary and felony
				Daniel Deafhy -	
				William Driscoll -	Perjury
				Bartholomew Sullivan -	
			1801	Dennis Desmond -	Horfe-stealing
				Daniel Riordane -	
				Daniel M'Carthy -	Do.
				Darby Cronikane -	
					Burglary and felony

No. XXX.—continued.

LIST continued.					
Years.	Persons transported.	Crimes.	Years.	Persons transported.	Crimes.
1801	Patrick Cullinane -	Uttering forged notes	1804	Bartholomew Donovan	Burglary and felony
	James Barry -	Burglary and felony		James Lyne -	Sheep-stealing
	John Mynehane -	Receiving stolen goods		Richard Stanton -	Horse-stealing
	James Grace -	Perjury		Dennis Leary -	House-robbery
	James Carthy -	Grand larceny		Darby Donovan -	Conspiracy to murder John Courtney, esquire
	Maurice Brien -				
	John Fowlue -	Conspiracy to murder John Courtney, Esquire		James Browne -	Cow-stealing
	William Hegarty -	Burglary and felony		Adam Hamilton -	Grand larceny
	Daniel Carthy, otherwise Rock	Highway robbery		Timothy Hurley -	Burglary and felony
1802	William Mahony, otherwise Hallefig -	Uttering forged notes	1805	John M'Carthy -	House robbery
1803	Thomas Shananan -	Highway robbery		Daniel Twohig -	Perjury
	Patrick Donovan -	Burglary and felony	1806	Edmond Hicklon -	Robbing a bleach green
	Thomas Murphy -				
	John Murphy -	Do. do.		Jeremiah Callaghan -	Cow-stealing
	Dennis Lordan -				
	John De Courcy -	Highway robbery		John Russell -	Pig-stealing
	Thomas Sullivan -				
	Timothy Sullivan -				
				William Gully -	House robbery
				Patrick Cadogan -	Burglary and felony
				Dennis Shea -	Stealing flour
				John Sullivan -	Cow-stealing

No. XXX.—continued.

ABSTRACT of the foregoing List of Persons sentenced, in the County of CORK, to be hanged or transported, during 40 Years, ending with the Year 1806.

Years.	Hanged.	Crimes.		Transported.	Murder.
		Murder.	Burglary, Theft, &c.		
1767	3	2	1	—	
8	—	—	—	—	
9	1	—	1	—	
1770	—	—	—	—	
1	2	—	2	—	
2	4	—	4	—	
3	2	—	2	2	
4	5	1	4	6	
5	1	1	—	7	
6	2	1	1	2	
7	3	—	3	3	
8	3	—	3	2	
9	3	—	3	2	
1780	3	2	1	3	
1	3	2	1	4	
2	7	1	6	—	1 Female for the murder of a man.
3	2	—	2	2	
4	2	1	1	—	
5	4	1	3	7	
6	3	2	1	5	
7	5	1	4	9	
8	7	—	7	8	
9	4	1	3	5	
1790	1	—	1	2	
1	4	1	3	9	
2	1	1	—	5	
3	—	—	—	4	
4	1	1	—	18	
5	—	—	—	6	
6	3	1	2	—	
7	2	—	2	4	
* 8	24	3	21	33	
9	1	Rape	—	9	
1800	4	3	1	6	
1	8	—	8	13	
2	1	1	—	1	
3	2	—	2	48	
4	—	—	—	10	
5	8	4	4	1	
6	1	1	—	6	
Total	130	32	98	202	3
Transported	—	3	—	—	—
		35	—	—	—

No woman charged in 40 years with the murder of her bastard child, nor man with Sodomy, or any other unnatural crime.

* Year of the Rebellion.

No. XXX.—continued.

NUMBER of PERSONS convicted, in the several Counties and Cities of IRELAND, in the Year 1807.				
Counties.	Sentences.			
		Death.	Transportation.	Convicted of Murder.
Antrim - - -	27	2	7	—
Armagh - - -	19	—	5	—
Carlow - - -	3	2	—	2
Cavan - - -	6	4	—	2
Clare - - -	5	1	1	—
Cork, County and City	37	2	1	1
Donegal - - -	2	1	—	1
Down - - -	11	—	3	—
Dublin, County and City	272	28	81	2
Fermanagh - - -	10	3	2	—
Galway, County and Town	11	2	—	1
Kerry - - -	5	1	1	—
Kildare - - -	14	3	2	—
Kilkenny, County and City	17	1	2	—
King's - - -	4	—	—	—
Leitrim - - -	1	1	—	1
Limerick - - -	18	5	—	4
Londonderry - - -	9	—	—	—
Longford - - -	16	1	1	1
Louth and Drogheda	16	—	1	—
Mayo - - -	21	2	1	1
Meath - - -	14	2	6	—
Monaghan - - -	14	1	3	1
Queen's - - -	15	3	—	—
Roscommon - - -	12	2	3	—
Sligo - - -	13	11	—	—
Tipperary - - -	16	2	4	1
Tyrone - - -	8	2	—	—
Waterford - - -	5	—	1	—
Westmeath - - -	13	1	2	—
Wexford - - -	5	2	1	—
Wicklow - - -	13	2	3	—
Totals 653	87	131	18	

The number of persons ordered for transportation in the seven years, ended in 1743, was 1,890, or 270, on an average, each year. The population of Ireland, in that year, did not much exceed two millions.

ANNUAL PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS.			
To defray the Expenses of Criminal Prosecutions.		For apprehending Public Offenders.	
Years ended 25th March.	Years ended 5th January.		
1794 - £. 12,000	1801 - £. 25,000		
1795 - 15,000	1802 - 25,000		
1796 - 20,000	1803 - 25,000		
1797 - 25,000	1804 - 25,000		£.
1798 - 25,000	1805 - 25,000	- -	5,000
1799 - 25,000	1806 - 25,000	- -	2,500
1800 - 25,000	1807 - 25,000	- -	2,500
	1808 - 25,000	- -	2,500
Total for criminal Prosecutions - -		£347,000	
Total for apprehending Public Offenders - -		£12,500	

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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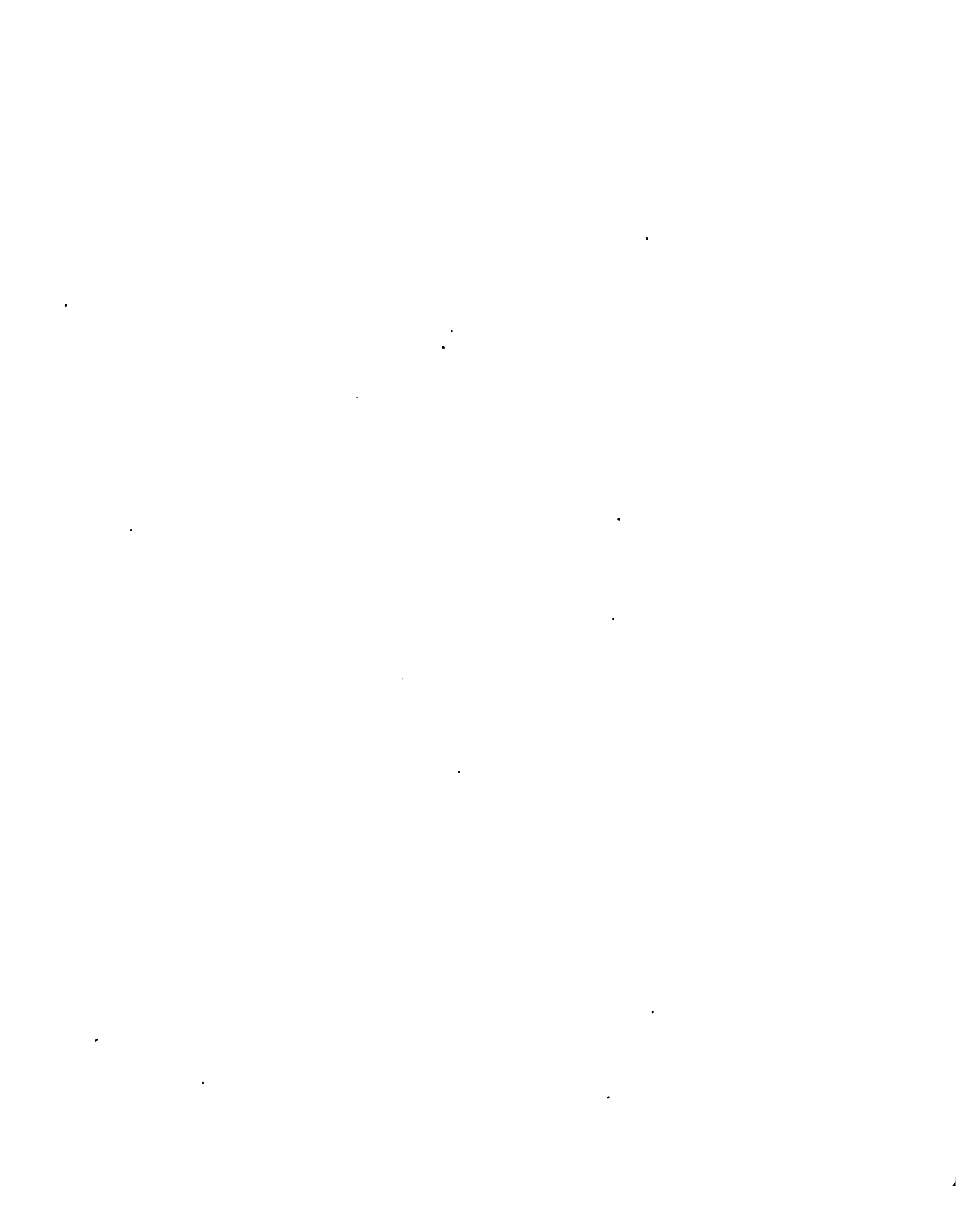
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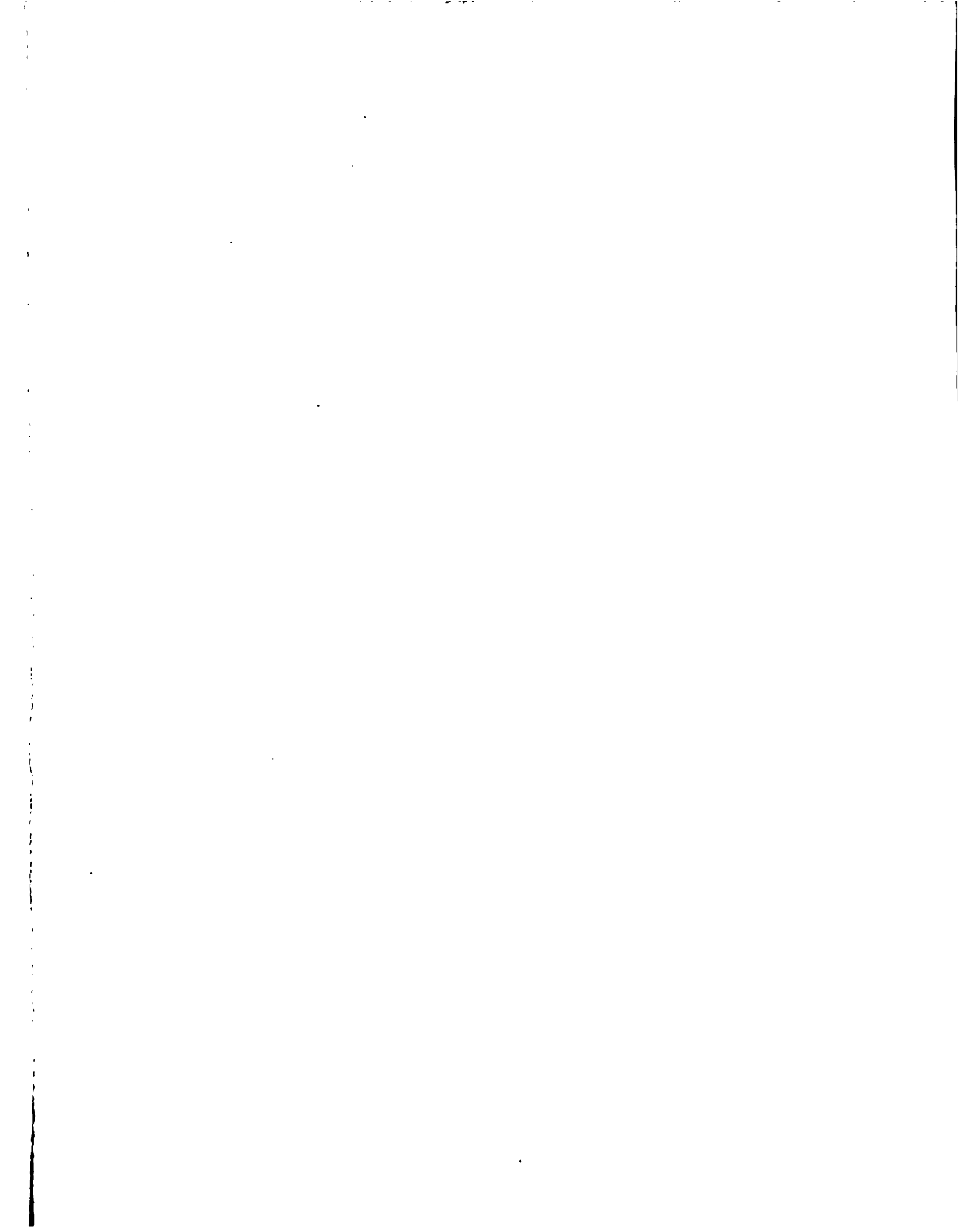
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